THE PROGRAM OF THE FIFTH CENTURY MOSAICS OF SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE

by

Suzanne Spain

A dissertation in the Department of Fine Arts
submitted to the faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at New York University

October 1968

H Buchthal
Oct 68

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the Woodrow Wilson Foundation I owe the incentive which determined my entry to the Institute of Fine Arts and facilitated my emergence from it. I gratefully acknowledge the Foundation's support in my first and last years, and that of the Institute in the intervening years. For their intellectual guidance and inspiration I shall long be indebted to Professors Hugo Buchthal and Richard Krautheimer, the first for revealing the attractions of Byzantine art and for supervising my work on Santa Maria Maggiore, a topic he suggested, and the second for teaching me the methods of art historical research and encouraging a sense of confidence and pleasure in both the process and its results. My thanks must also go to Dr. Redig de Campos, Director General of the Vatican Museums, for permission to use archival material relevant to the restorations of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, to Mrs. Cesare Longobardi, Librarian of the American Academy in Rome, and her staff, for creating an atmosphere most amenable for study, to Professor Hjalmar Torp, of the Norwegian Institute in Rome, for his valuable suggestions and criticisms,

and to the various friends and associates with whom I shared the experience of writing a doctoral dissertation and who provided advice for the task and relief from it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS		iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS		vi
INTRODUCTION		1
Chapter		
I.	THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOSAICS	5
II.	CHRONOLOGY AND STYLE OF THE MOSAICS	19
III.	CHURCH DECORATION PRIOR TO SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE	43
IV.	THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE NAVE	58
V.	THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ARCH	100
VI.	THE ORIGINS OF THE PROGRAM	165
APPENDICES		208
	A. Catalog of the Nave Mosaics	209
	B. A Brief History of the Restorations of the Mosaics	264
ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS		277
BIBLIOGRAPHY		282

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1 Reconstruction of the fifth-century appearance of nave of Santa Maria Maggiore (Courtesy R. Krautheimer, from Corpus, III, 47, fig. 48).

Fig. 2 Abraham and Melchisedech
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay one (Wilpert, RMM, III, 8).

Fig. 3 Vision and Hospitality at Mamre
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay two (Ibid., 10).

Fig. 4 Separation of Abraham and Lot
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay three (Ibid., 9).

Fig. 5 Isaac blesses Jacob; the return of Esau
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay seven (Ibid., 11a).

Fig. 6 Rachel announces the arrival of Jacob; greeting of Jacob and Laban
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay nine (Ibid., 11b).

Fig. 7 Jacob asks the hand of Rachel
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave; bay ten (Ibid., 12a).

Fig. 8 Jacob's reproach and marriage
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay eleven (Ibid., 12b).

Fig. 9 Jacob asks recompense; division of the flocks
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay twelve (Ibid., 13b).

Fig. 10 Division of the flocks, Jacob speaks with God; and tells the women of departure
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay thirteen (Ibid., 14).

Fig. 11 Jacob's envoys to Esau
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay fifteen (Ibid., 13a).

Fig. 12 Hemor and Schechem ask the hand of Dinah; the brothers report her rape
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay seventeen (Ibid., 15b).

Fig. 13 Hemor and Schechem appeal to Jacob; and announce the requirement of circumcision
Santa Maria Maggiore, left wall of nave, bay eighteen (Ibid., 15a).

Fig. 14 Moses before Pharoah's daughter; and amidst the Egyptian wisemen
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay two (Ibid., 16).

Fig. 15 Moses weds Sephora; pastoral and call
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay three (Ibid., 17).

Fig. 16 Antonio Eclissi, drawing of lost mosaic, ca. 1640: Meeting of Moses and Aaron; Moses performs snake miracle
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay four (Courtesy Vatican Library, ex. Cod. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 23).

Fig. 17 Antonio Eclissi, drawing of lost mosaic, ca. 1640: Moses requests a Passover Lamb; and describes the Promised Land
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay five (Ibid., 24).

Fig. 18 Antonio Eclissi, drawing of lost mosaic, ca. 1640: Requirements for the Passover Lamb
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay six (Ibid., 25).

Fig. 19 Crossing the Red Sea
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay seven (Wilpert, RMM, III, 18).

Fig. 20 Complaints of the Israelites, Moses speaks with God; the rain of quails
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay eight (Ibid., 19a).

Fig. 21 Complaint of the Israelites, Moses sweetens the waters of Marah; the envoys to the King of Edom
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay nine (Ibid., 19b).

Fig. 22 Battle at Rephidim
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay ten (Ibid., 20).

Fig. 23 Moses instructs the spies; stoning of Moses, Caleb and Joshua
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay eleven (Ibid., 21).

Fig. 24 Moses preaches to his people, death of Moses; Joshua assumes leadership
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay twelve (Ibid., 22).

Fig. 25 Crossing the Jordan; Joshua sends spies to Jericho
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay thirteen (Ibid., 23).

Fig. 26 The Angel of the Lord appears to Joshua; the spies return
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay fourteen (Ibid., 24).

Fig. 27 Manoeuvres at Jericho
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay fifteen (Ibid., 25).

Fig. 28 Gibeonites request aid; Joshua speaks to God, Profectio
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay sixteen (Ibid., 26).

Fig. 29 Joshua makes the Amorites flee; miraculous rain of hail
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay seventeen (Ibid., 27).

Fig. 30 Joshua stills the sun and moon
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay eighteen (Ibid., 28a).

Fig. 31 The five kings are brought before Joshua
Santa Maria Maggiore, right wall of nave, bay nineteen (Ibid., 28b).

Fig. 32 Sixtine inscription of the triumphal arch Santa Maria Maggiore (Anderson 31224).

Fig. 33 Triumphal arch Santa Maria Maggiore (Anderson 17653).

Fig. 34 Antonio Eclissi, drawing of the triumphal arch, ca. 1640 (Courtesy Vatican Library, ex. Cod. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 1).

Fig. 35 Pharoah's daughter, detail of bay two, right wall (Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 88).

Fig. 36 Crossing the Red Sea, detail of bay seven, right wall (Wilpert, RMM, III, 18).

Fig. 37 Equestrian Joshua, detail of bay seventeen, right wall (Karpp, Die Mosaiken .. ., 149).

Fig. 38 "Simeon, the elders and the Templum Urbis," detail of the triumphal arch (Wilpert, RMM, III, 59-60).

Fig. 39 The Gibeonites, detail of bay sixteen, right wall (Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 145).

Fig. 40 Abraham and Lot, detail of bay three, left wall (Wilpert, RMM, III, 9).

Fig. 41 Israelites at the Red Sea, detail of bay seven, right wall (Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 98).

Fig. 42 Complaining Israelites, detail of bay eight, right wall (Ibid., 106).

Fig. 43 "Simeon," detail of the triumphal arch (Ibid., 16).

Fig. 44 Blind Isaac, detail of bay seven, left wall (Ibid., 44).

Fig. 45 Angels of the Annunciation, detail of the triumphal arch (Wilpert, RMM, III, 54-55).

Fig. 46 "Simeon," detail of the triumphal arch (Ibid., 59).

Fig. 47 The Adoration of the Magi from the triumphal arch (Anderson 17655).

Fig. 48 The Massacre of the Innocents from the triumphal arch (Anderson 17655).

Fig. 49 The Massacre of the Innocents, detail of five-part ivory diptych, Cathedral Treasury, Milan (Volbach, Kunst, 100).

Fig. 50 "Ecclesia"? "Sybil"? "Anna"? detail of the triumphal arch (Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 19).

Fig. 51 Prophet
Orthodox Baptistery, Ravenna
(Wilpert, RMM, III, 80).

Fig. 52 SS. Ambrose and Maternus
S. Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan
(Ibid., 84).

Fig. 53 H. Priskos
Hagios Giorgios, Thessalonika (Courtesy H. Torp).

Fig. 54 "Templum Urbis," detail of the triumphal arch (Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 17).

Fig. 55 Enthroned Mary with Magi and an angel, ivory plaque, British Museum
(Volbach, Kunst, 222).

Fig. 56 "Joseph," detail of the triumphal arch (Anderson 31233).

Fig. 57 Angel of the Annunciation, detail of the triumphal arch (Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 10).

Fig. 58 "The Meeting of Aphrodisias and Christ;" The Magi before Herod, from the triumphal arch (Anderson 17658).

Fig. 59 "Joseph and Anna," detail of the triumphal arch (Wilpert, RMM, III, 58).

Fig. 60 "The Presentation," detail of the triumphal arch (Ibid., 57-58).

Fig. 61 Maria Regina, from the Oratory of John VII, now in S. Marco, Florence
(Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII," ACTA 2 (1965), pl. I).

Fig. 62 Antonio Eclissi, detail of drawing of the triumphal arch, ca. 1640
(Courtesy Vatican Library, ex. Cod. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 1).

Fig. 63 Annuniciation
Basilica Eufrasiana, Parenzo
(B. Malojoli, La Basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo, Padua, 1943, 43, fig. 55).

Fig. 64 Annunciation, detail of cathedra of Maximianus, Archiepiscopal Museum, Ravenna
(Volbach, Kunst, 231).

Fig. 65 "Aphrodisias," detail of the triumphal arch
(Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 21).

Fig. 66 Prophets, Rossano Gospels, fol. 6, Cathedral Treasury, Rossano (D. Talbot-Rice, The Art of Byzantium, London, 1954, III).

Fig. 67 The Marriage of David, silver plate, Archeological Museum, Nicosia, Cyprus
(Ibid., 73).

INTRODUCTION

The church of Santa Maria Maggiore is one of the finest architectural creations of fifth century Rome. A basilica comprised of two aisles and apse, it revealed prior to sixteenth and eighteenth century restorations "a classical purity of design."[1] Solidly built, spaciously planned, furnished with the best of Roman-Hellenistic architectural spoils, its rising walls richly molded and articulated, finished with stucco ornament and finely executed mosaics, Santa Maria Maggiore was truly a masterpiece. Its patron was the See of Rome. Begun by Celestine, the basilica was executed in the main during the pontificate of his successor, Sixtus III, 432-440.[2]

Conceived after the dreadful blow to Rome that the invasion of Alaric was, the basilica constitutes a primary

[1] R. Krautheimer, "The Architecture of Sixtus III: A Fifth Century Renascence?" De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. M. Meiss (New York, 1961), I, 291.

[2] Krautheimer assigns a construction date to the basilica within the first third of the fifth century, "S. Maria Maggiore," Corpus, III, 1967, 55 (henceforth Krautheimer, "SMM"). This archeological evidence confirms the two Sixtine inscriptions, see below (14, 17), and an entry in the L.P., I, 232, see below (19).

statement of a new Rome, a Rome controlled by a Church so confident and powerful that it could contend politically with the emperors, doctrinally with the other Sees, and culturally and aesthetically with the classical heritage of Rome. Santa Maria Maggiore is the major architectural expression of this new confidence and its consequent vitality.

One of the prominent features of the basilica, in both visual and historical terms, was the vast expanse of mosaics which once covered the conch of the apse, the face of the triumphal arch, panels on either clerestorey wall and a section of the east wall of the nave. Remaining to us are the mosaics of the arch and clerestoreys. These mosaics are enigmatic and controversial. In terms of both individual scenes and the cycle as a whole, the iconography is largely without parallel. Even the less perplexing Old Testament cycle of the nave contains many iconographic details and compositional motifs which have as yet evaded definition. The style of the mosaics demonstrates inconsistency within the panels of the nave as well as between arch and nave. Despite the many studies devoted to the mosaics, difficulties persist or actually increase in successive attempts to interpret the program of the mosaics. The thematic and stylistic relationship of the nave and arch remains essentially undefined.

Several factors have permitted this perpetuation of

ignorance. These include: (1) a persistent willingness or wilfulness to view the styles of nave and arch as incompatible, (2) the failure to consider the arch and nave in a single thematic or programmatic vision, (3) a narrow historical outlook which has bound the interpretation of the arch to the Council of Ephesus and the consequent failure to review religious history in Rome in the years following soon after this council, and (4) the failure to perceive the revolutionary position in church decoration that the mosaic cycles constitute, and the consequent failure to seek the meaning of this innovation.

The figurative cycles of Santa Maria Maggiore are not only the oldest extant, but they appear to have been the first examples of such a decorative scheme in a Roman Christian basilica. The decision to so embellish a church thus constitutes an innovation in church design and a modification of ecclesiastical policy. Yet the originality of such an undertaking by the patrons of the church has not been acknowledged. So bound up have the studies been in amplifying an apparent stylistic diversity and in examining small iconographic details--the frameam in the hand of an angel[3]--that

[3] P. Künzle, "Per una visione organica dei mosaici antichi di S. Maria Maggiore," Rendic. Pont. Accad. ser. 3.34 (1961-2), 162 (henceforth, Künzle, "Per una visione organica . . .").

an organic vision has rarely been called for and never undertaken.[4] Viewed critically, viewed as a whole, viewed within its historical context and viewed as an innovation, a comprehensive explanation of the program of the mosaics may emerge. Furthermore, in this analysis of the program, we may gain an understanding of the original and revolutionary motivation to "illuminate" the walls of a Christian basilica.

These, then, will be the concerns of this thesis: to establish the contemporaneity of nave and arch mosaics, to affirm the innovative quality of the decoration, to determine the program of the mosaics and to discover the reason for the modification in church decoration which they constitute.

[4] Ibid., 153 ff.

CHAPTER I

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOSAICS

A. The Nave

The nave of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore was defined by two rows of twenty Ionic columns resting on bases and plinths and crowned by finely executed Ionic capitals (fig. 1).[1] An entablature with a mosaic frieze containing a tendril design with lamb insets rested on the shafts. The clerestorey walls were articulated between entablature and a stucco frieze located below the beamed roof by an architectonic membering which both followed the verticals of the colonnade and created a distinct, if delicate, horizontal stratification. Above the entablature, and corresponding to each bay of the colonnade, was a series of aediculae or tabernacles, supported on small fluted columns.[2]

[1] For a reconstruction of the Early Christian basilica, cf. Krautheimer, "SMM," 46 ff., likewise for the analysis and history of the restorations and modifications of the basilica, passim.

[2] A reconstruction suggested by Krautheimer, ibid., 50 f., based on two anonymous fifteenth century drawings: Uffizi dis. arch. 1864, and Vat. lat 11257, fol. 185v. Krautheimer reproduces these as figs. 49 and 50.

On the verticals of the columns and between the aediculae rose a full order of fluted pilasters flanked by a double order of spirally-fluted columns, the lower order edging the aediculae, the upper order, the large round-headed windows.

Within each of the aediculae, a mosaic was executed against a plaster bed applied to the brickwork.[3] Of the original count of forty-two panels, twenty-seven remain, reduced by time, weather, and redecoration campaigns. Much of the damage to and loss of panels occurred well before the condition of the mosaics was first documented graphically in a series of wash drawings commissioned by Francesco Barberini, about the year 1640. Preserved in the Vatican Library, Cod. Barb. lat. 4405, Antonio Eclissi's sketches present invaluable evidence on the condition of the nave panels and the arch mosaic within fifty years of their first documented

[3] B. Biagetti, the archeologist in charge of the restoration of the mosaics under Pius XI, believed at an early stage in the campaign that the mosaics had not been executed on the clerestorey walls but transferred there from elsewhere. This was due to the fact that the imprint of brickwork on the back of several panels detached from the left wall did not match the brick core from which they were removed ("Osservazioni sui musaici della navata centrale nella basilica di S. Maria Maggiore in Roma," Rendic. Pont. Accad. ser. 3.13 (1937), 101-116). This thesis was retracted after work proceeded to the right wall where the plaster backing of the panels and brick core were found to bind ("Mosaici-Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore," ibid., ser. 3.18 (1941-2), 292-296).

restoration.[4] This restoration was undertaken by Domenico Pinelli as a part of his redecoration of the basilica.[5] The extent of his work on the mosaic surfaces was not recorded in contemporary documents, but it was marked by Eclissi, who, in sketching each panel, distinguished the restored from the integral areas by drawing a hatched line between them. Further, Eclissi and then another noted on the sketches, either by the border or on the field proper, the restored areas by inscribing "moderno" or "moderno

[4]In Eclissi's day, twelve panels had already been lost, those occupying the following positions: left wall--4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21; right wall--1, 20, 21. In addition, his sketches detail the loss and restoration of substantial portions of the following panels: left wall--lower quarter of 7, lower quarter of 9, lower half of 10, lower quarter of 11, lower quarter of 12, lower half of 15, much of the edges of 17 and 18; right wall--lower half of 5, parts of 8, 18, and 20. For Pinelli's activity, see below, Appendix B, 264 ff. Eclissi's sketches are reproduced by S. Waetzoldt, Die Kopien des XVII Jh. nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom (Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 18) (Vienna, 1964), 48 ff., cat. nos. 438 ff., figs. 237 ff. (henceforth, Waetzoldt, Kopien).

[5]Pinelli installed on the east wall of the nave marble plaques, one containing the inscription: "Dominicvs S.R.E. Card. Pinellvs Archipresbyter ornavit an. dom. MDXCIII," Forcella, Iscrizioni, XI, 53, no. 100, as may be seen in an engraving in P. de Angelis, Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe a Liberio papa I usque ad Paulum V Pont. Max. descriptio et delineatio (Rome, 1621), 95. For the rest of Pinelli's activity, cf. Krautheimer, "SMM," 27 and below, Appendix B, 273 ff., and note 18.

dipinto."[6]

The nave cycle is composed of scenes from the Old Testament, fundamentally from the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Joshua, with a few incidents selected from Numbers and Deuteronomy. The cycle falls into five parts, each centering on a patriarch: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob dominate the left clerestorey wall (as one faces the apse), Moses and Joshua the right. The density of selection from the scriptural narrative varies from patriarch to patriarch. For example, only three panels are allotted to Abraham while the story of Jacob commands fifteen. The requirements of the program and its leitmotifs effected these variables, as we shall see.

The panels devoted to Abraham present three instances in his life, arranged in an order which does not accord with the Genesis narrative. The first pictures the blessing of Abraham by Melchisedech, an incident occurring on Abraham's return from avenging the capture of Lot and containing

[6]Two hands have marked the hatched off areas as modern. A light cursive hand wrote "Moderno" or "Moderno dipinto," either within the field or below the frame, while in heavier print, another wrote "Moderno." As the cursive matches the writing on fol. 2, noting the initiation of the series, it may be that of Eclissi. The notations "moderno" and "moderno dipinto" do not signal a different technique of restoration, i.e., retessellation vs. fresco repair, for the Dream of Jacob, fol. 6, a panel totally restored in fresco, is marked only "moderno," while another, likewise totally painted, is noted to be "moderno dipinto," fol. 12.

prophecies of the Eucharist (fig. 2). Ripe in trinitarian symbolism, the second panel, consisting of two registers, presents the Vision at Mamre and the Hospitality of Abraham and Sarah towards their angelic guests (fig. 3). The third panel magnificently evokes the Separation of Abraham and Lot, an incident prophetic of the cleavage of the Jews in reference to Christ (fig. 4).

The panels in bays four, five, and six were destroyed in 1611 by Paul V in the construction of the Cappella Borghese.[7] The mosaics contained in these panels depicted incidents in the life of Isaac.[8]

Nine panels survive from the last fifteen bays of the left wall; they are dedicated to the story of Jacob. The series begins with the blessing he received from his blind father, Isaac, in the seventh position (fig. 5), and continues with his marriages to Laban's daughters and his servitude to his uncle, biblical episodes not without typological value despite their frequently embarrassing contents. The eighth panel is no longer extant; the ninth depicts in two registers Rachel announcing to her father the arrival of Jacob and the greeting of Jacob and Laban (fig. 6). In the tenth panel, the solely preserved upper register contains Jacob's request for the hand of Rachel (fig. 7). Jacob

[7]Krautheimer, "SMM," 9 (under "1611").

[8]See below, Chapter IV, 83 ff.

reproaches his uncle for having engineered Leah into the marital bed in the top register of the eleventh panel; while in the lower register Jacob and Rachel join their right hands in marriage (fig. 8). The twelfth and thirteenth panels picture Jacob's difficult servitude to Laban: he asks for recompense in the upper register of the twelfth panel and in the lower they divide the flocks of sheep and goats between them (fig. 9). The division, with an indication of Jacob's eugenic experiments, proceeds in the upper register of the thirteenth panel, in which, in a second scene, Jacob receives an order from God to return to his own land (fig. 10). In the lower register he imparts this command to his wives. Following a lacuna, in the fifteenth panel, Jacob sends several messengers to assess the sentiments of the brother he outwitted years ago (fig. 11); the brothers once embraced in the lower register. Following another lacuna, the last two panels in the seventeenth and eighteenth positions concern the events of the tribe of Jacob in the land of Schechem. In the upper register of panel seventeen (fig. 12), the king and his son, Hemor, request from Jacob the hand of his only daughter, Dinah; below, the sons of the patriarch reveal to their father the rape of Dinah by Hemor. Next, in the eighteenth panel (fig. 13), Schechem and Hemor once again come before Jacob and repeat their desire. Below they announce to their people that if

they accept the covenant of circumcision, Jacob will permit Dinah to marry Hemor and his tribe will join theirs.

The right clerestorey wall, in a far better state of preservation, focuses on two themes, Moses as the leader of the Exodus and Joshua as the general who recaptures the Promised Land. The career of Moses commands slightly more than half the panels. Exposition begins with his early life: in the upper half of the second panel,[9] he is presented to Pharoah's daughter by the nurse who raised him; below, in an apocryphal activity, he disputes with the wise men of Egypt (fig. 14). Having fled to Midian in fear of his life, Moses marries Sephora, daughter of the local priest, Jethro, and begins a career as shepherd, depicted in panel three (fig. 15). Likewise contained in the lower register of this panel is the divine command at the burning bush to return to Egypt and lead his people out of bondage. Panels four, five, and six, preserved in Barb. lat. 4405, were destroyed under Benedict XIV, 1743-1750, by the architect, Ferdinando Fuga, who remodeled the interior of the church. He designed an arched entry to the Cappella Sistina to accord with the entry to the Cappella Borghese.[10] Contained in these panels were

[9]The first panel was obliterated by a medieval organ loft, removed in the late sixteenth century, Krautheimer, "SMM," 29.

[10]An inscription of Benedict XIV records his activity, cf. Forcella, Iscrizioni, XI, 97, No. 199. Krautheimer, "SMM," 24-29, discusses the extent of Fuga's redesign.

incidents relevant to the preparation for the Exodus from Egypt. In the upper register of the fourth, Moses returns with his family to Egypt, meeting there Aaron; below he performs the miraculous transformation of his staff into a snake before the soldiers of Pharoah (fig. 16). In the fifth panel, Moses outlines the need for a passover lamb, above; and offers below a descriptive vision of the land to which he hopes to lead the people (fig. 17). Procedures relevant to the choice of a paschal lamb are depicted in the upper half of the sixth panel (fig. 18). The lower half was totally restored by ca. 1640.

In a splendid composition, the Crossing of the Red Sea is accomplished in the seventh panel (fig. 19). The Israelites crowd the left bank of the sea, safe and ready to continue their journey, while Pharoah's army rushes into the waters of the sea. The following panels depict the wandering of the Israelites in the desert and the trials to which Moses was put by his flock, obstacles he overcame with continued divine assistance and christological portent. In the upper register of the eighth panel, a group of Israelites complains to Moses; he then seeks the advice of God (fig. 20). Below the hunger of the people is salved by the miraculous heavenly rain of quails. The complaints continue in the ninth panel, where, upon divine command, Moses lowers a stick into the bitter waters of Marah to render them potable (fig. 21).

Below, messengers he sent to the king of Edom are refused passage by the latter through his land. Another full-field composition follows in the tenth aedicula in which the Israelites led by Joshua battle the Amalekites, while Moses, with the aid of Aaron and Ur, maintains an apotropaeic position on the mountain top (fig. 22). Spies are given instructions by Moses in the top of the eleventh panel; the report they gave on their return gained Moses, Joshua, and Caleb the revenge of the Israelites, for the news their survey of the land yielded was not encouraging (fig. 23). The ultimate scenes of Moses' life fill the top of the twelfth panel: he preaches to his people and then lies down on Mt. Nebo to await his death (fig. 24).

The Joshua series commences in the lower register of the twelfth panel; highly restored, one can say at best that the scene represents Joshua's assumption of leadership. The following several scenes do not maintain their narrative sequence, but picture several of the initial activities of Joshua, the bearer of the mysterious name, Ἰησοῦς , in preparation for the reoccupation of the Holy Land. In the thirteenth panel, the Jordan is crossed and spies are sent out to assess the strength of Jericho (fig. 25). The appearance of an angel of the Lord to Joshua and the return of the spies fill the two zones of the fourteenth panel (fig. 26). The next contains the fall of the walls of Jericho, depicted in two

registers and containing the symbolic figure of Rahab (fig. 27). The sixteenth presents the request by the Gibeonites that Joshua and the Israelites aid them in their battle with the league of the five kings (fig. 28). Below Joshua departs to their aid, having gained the approval of God. The seventeenth panel presents an equestrian Joshua attacking the Amorites in the upper zone, while below a hail of stones falls from the hand of God and finishes off those not killed in battle (fig. 29). The Stilling of the Sun and Moon fills the eighteenth panel (fig. 30); the series ends with the fragments of the scenes in which the five kings were brought before Joshua for sentence (fig. 31). Panels twenty and twenty-one were entirely repainted before ca. 1640.

B. The Triumphal Arch

The triumphal arch beyond which bulged the apse and its mosaic-clad conch is covered with figurative tessellation from a level equal to that of the top of the nave entablature to that of the cornice. At its apex is found the much-restored proclamation: XYSTVS EPISCOPVS PLEBI DEI (fig, 32).[11] The surface is divided vertically by the arch opening

[11] J. Wilpert shows several fissures and bald spots in the inscription, since repaired, Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV bis XIII Jh., 3rd ed. (Freiburg i/B, 1924), III, pl. 70-72 (henceforth Wilpert, RMM). Further O. Panvinio transcribed the inscription as "XISTVS EPISCOPVS . . ." (Le Sette Chiese (Rome, 1570), 300), as did J. Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta (Rome, 1690), pl. XLIX, thus evidencing a repair and a change of spelling between Ciampini's

and horizontally by narrow mosaic bands which mark the edges of the four zones (figs. 33, 34). Basically, each half zone contains a distinct scene. The identification of the scenes, in the commonly accepted interpretation,[12] is as follows:

The program begins at the upper left with an Annunciation by a suite of four angels to a majestically-clad Mary, Maria Regina, who sits spinning wool. To the right, two angels announce to Joseph what is to come of his intended bride, but not in a dream as Matthew accounts (2.20).[13] Beyond the evangelist symbols and the figures of Peter and Paul who flank the symbolic empty throne,[14] the Christ-child,

---

time and that of Wilpert, as well as another prior to Panvinio in which the name of the pope, Xystus, was repaired and mispelled.

[12]Except for an occasional re-identification of a single figure or the meaning of an architectural motif, the identification of the arch is fairly stable. Cf. Wilpert, RMM, I, 473 ff., M. Berchem, É. Clouzot, Mosaïques Chrétiennes du IVme au Xme Siècle (Geneva, 1924), 45 ff., A. Grabar, L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin (Paris, 1936), 209 ff. (henceforth, L'Empereur . . .), C. Cecchelli, I Mosaici della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore (Turin, 1956), 197 ff., Künzle, "Per una visione organica . . .," 162 ff., G. Matthiae, Mosaici Medioevali delle Chiese di Roma (Rome, 1967), 87 ff.

[13]The common identification of this scene credits the iconography to the influence of an apocryphal gospel, cf. A. Weis, "Die Geburtsgeschichte Christi am Triumphbogen von Santa Maria Maggiore in Rom," Das Münster 13 (1960), 73 ff.

[14]The empty or prepared throne has raised its own interpretive problems, cf. Grabar, L'Empereur . . ., 214 ff., and Cecchelli, Mosaici, 197 ff.

held by Mary, again in golden dalmatic, is presented in the temple in the presence of Joseph, Simeon, Anna, angels, and the Levitical priesthood, the last emerging from behind a tetrastyle temple on whose steps appear sacrificial birds. At the far right, a sleeping Joseph is warned by an angel to flee to Egypt and avoid the persecution of Herod.[15]

The second zone contains the Visit of the Three Magi to the enthroned infant Christ. His mother and a somberly clad woman of enigmatic identity--Salome? Zelomi? Ecclesia ex Gentibus? Ecclesia ex Circumcisione? Anna the prophetess? Anna the mother of Mary? Rachel? a sybil?[16]--flank the throne to the left and right respectively, behind which stand four angels. Across the opening of the arch, the Christ-child, his parents, and the angels are met outside the walls of a city by an emperor and a philosopher and their attendants, a scene commonly identified as the apocryphal meeting of Christ and Aphrodisias.[17] Incidents depicting Herod's

[15]This scene was completely restored in the 1930s upon the removal of the Pinelli pilasters, see below, Appendix B, 267, 275.

[16]A selection of the proposed identifications of this figure compiled by Künzle, "Per una visione organica . . .," 172 ff.

[17]Pseudo-Matthew, cap. 22-24 (Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocryphya, 2nd. ed. (Leipzig, 1876), 89-92). An identification first proposed by N. P. Kondakov, Histoire de l'Art Byzantin (Paris, 1886), 105, and only rarely refuted, cf. N. Brodsky, "L'Iconographie oubliée de l'Arc Éphésien de Sainte Marie Majeure à Rome," Byzantion 31 (1961), 477 and again ibid., Bibliothèque de Byzantion I (Brussels, 1966), 87 ff.

persecution of the Christ-child fill the two halves of the third zone. At the left, Herod commands a guard to begin the Massacre of the Innocents, while at the right, he orders his priests to consult their scrolls in reference to the report brought by the Magi of a star over Bethlehem. Symbolic representations of the holy cities, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and the Christian flock, depicted as sheep, are contained in the spandrels.

C. Other Mosaics

An inscription preserved in the syllogae of Tours, Lorsch, and Verdun proclaims the activity of Sixtus III at Santa Maria Maggiore:

> Virgo Maria tibi Xystus nova tecta dicavi
> digna salutifero munera ventri tuo
> tu genitrix ignara viri te denique faeta
> visceribus salvis edita nostra salus.
> ecce tui testes uteri sibi praemia portant
> sub pedibusque iacet passio cuique sua:
> ferrum, flamma, ferae, fluvius saevumque venenum
> tot tamen has mortes una corona manet.[18]

Remains of this inscription were still to be seen on the east or entry wall of the basilica as late as ca. 1570.[19]

(henceforth, Brodsky, "L'Iconographie oubliée," 1961, __, 1966, __). Ciampini mistook the scene for Christ among the doctors, Vetera Monimenta, 210.

[18] Preserved in the codices of Tours, Lorsch IV and Verdun, cf. G. B. de Rossi, Inscriptiones (1888), II, 71, 98, 139.

[19] Panvinio, Vat. lat. 6781, fol. 151: "In aula interius ubi sunt sopra portas ubi desunt tabule lapidee, sunt picture satis elegantes; sunt . . . antiquo zophoro diruto hi versus: Virgo Maria tibi Xystus novat . . ." transcribed by G. Biasiotti, "La basilica di S. Maria Maggiore prima delle

They were removed twenty-five years later by Pinelli.[20] The inscription describes a mosaic, no longer extant, containing a Virgin approached by five martyrs who bear the crowns of martyrdom and tread on the instruments of their passion. The location of the mosaic is in debate. Some scholars locate it in the original apse, torn down by Nicholas IV, ca. 1295, while others reconstruct it on the entry wall, above the inscription.[21] The latter has the attraction of similarity to the inner facade wall of the contemporary basilica of S. Sabina.[22] Though the whereabouts of this mosaic remain unknown, the inscription provides us with two important facts: it is one of several confirmations of Sixtus' activity at Santa Maria Maggiore and it words the dedication to Mary simply as Virgo Maria, a point to which we shall return below.

---

innovazioni del secolo XVI," Mél. Rome 35 (1915), 23, and in Panvinio, Le sette chiese, 300 and De Praecipuis Basiliciis (Rome, 1570), 235.

[20]See above, note 5, and below, Appendix B, 275.

[21]G. A. Wellen restores the five martyr composition to the apse, Theotokos, eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit (Utrecht, 1960), 120 ff., (henceforth Wellen, Theotokos). A. Schuchert, after much debate, also placed it in the apse, S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom. I. Die Gründungsgeschichte der Basilika und die ursprüngliche Apsisanlage (Studi di Antichità Cristiana 15) (Vatican City, 1939), 55 ff. (henceforth Schuchert, S. Maria Maggiore).

[22]Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, pl. 48.

CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGY AND STYLE OF THE MOSAICS

Two factors have in the past obstructed an understanding of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore. One is an apparent lack of stylistic homogeneity between the mosaics of the nave and arch; the other is an entry in the biography of Sixtus in the Liber Pontificalis: "Hic fecit basilicam sanctae Mariae, quae ab antiquis Liberii cognominabatur, iuxta macellum Libiae . . ."[1] With this documentary evidence, a critical tradition was founded which viewed the basilica as a structure built by Pope Liberius in the mid-fourth century and restored by Sixtus in the fifth century. The mosaics of arch and nave were viewed as the work of separate campaigns: those of the nave were accredited to Liberius, while those of the arch were given to Sixtus.[2]

[1] L. P. I, 232. For a discussion of the Sicininian-Liberian-Sixtine problem, cf. Künzle, "Zur Basilica Liberiana: basilica Sicinini = basilica Liberii," R. Q. Schr. 56 (1961) 1 ff, 129 ff., and Krautheimer, "SMM," 53 ff.

[2] For example, Wilpert, RMM, I, 414 ff., 423 ff., 473 ff., P. R. Garrucci, Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa (Prato, 1877), IV, 17 ff., de Rossi, Musaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo XV (Rome, 1899), 1 ff. Berchem and Clouzot acknowledge the debate, but avoid decision, Mosaïques Chrétiennes, 12.

Some scholars widened the gap, others narrowed it, but still the feeling of the diversity of the arch and nave persisted with enough effect to engender theories advocating their chronological disparity and consequently, thematic incompatibility.[3]

The recognition of diversity is not illusory. Part of it is due to the many restorations which in their unskillfulness, if not brutality, have done much to diminish the high quality once characteristic of the mosaics.[4] But this is not all, for diversity was native to the originals. A variety in the hands, the styles they worked, and the models they used affected both the form and composition of the mosaics. This variety is particularly evident in the nave. The arch as a unit is more homogeneous in style and for that reason has been thought to postdate the nave. The inscription, XYSTVS EPISCOPVS PLEBI DEI, marks the arch as the work

[3]Most of the extensive studies devoted to a determination of the iconography or the program of the mosaics concentrate on either the arch or the nave, e.g., Grabar, L' Empereur . . ., 209 ff., L. de Bruyne, "Nuove ricerche iconografiche sui mosaici dell'arco trionfale di S. Maria Maggiore," R.A.C. (1936), 239 ff., K. Schefold, "Altchristliche Bilderzyklen," R.A.C. 16 (1939), 289 ff., and Brodsky, "L' Iconographie oubliée . . .," passim. P. Künzle's article provides the sole exception to this approach, "Per una visione organica . . ."

[4]See Appendix B for the restoration history, and Appendix A, the catalog of the panels, for remarks on the damage and restorations sustained by individual panels.

of Sixtus.[5] The nave, if earlier, must therefore date before 432.

But recent investigations into the fabric of the basilica have resolved its date and provided a secure terminus post quem for the mosaics, thus nullifying much of the speculation on their origins.[6] Krautheimer established the integrity of the foundations and the rising walls of the nave and apse. Second, his analysis of the brickwork in comparison with that of other Roman churches yielded a date within the first third of the fifth century for the construction of the basilica, "confirm[ing] the date given by the Liber Pontificalis and by inscriptions placed by Sixtus III in the newly built church when dedicating it, a few years after the Council of Ephesus to the Theotokos."[7] The nave and arch

[5]The awkward placement of the inscription, overlapping the decorative border of the intrados and the hemlines and feet of Peter and Paul has elicited frequent comment to the effect that the inscription is either an interpolation or an afterthought. Schuchert's analysis of the color and disposition of the tesserae revealed the inscription's intimacy with the rest of the arch, S. Maria Maggiore, 71-77. On archeological grounds, as well as documentary ones (L.P. entry, see above 19, note 1, and the other Sixtus inscription), it is implausible to consider the inscription an interpolation of Sixtus into the mosaic of a predecessor. The inscription may have been installed, however, as an afterthought, following the completion of the mosaic-proper, cf. Biagetti, "Osservazioni sui musaici della navata centrale," 115, in which he suggests that Leo inserted the inscription.

[6]Krautheimer, "SMM," passim.

[7]Ibid., "The Architecture of Sixtus III . . .," 291 f.

mosaics then, can only date as early as the fifth century, and probably not before 430. In addition, a reading of Hadrian's letter to Charlemagne, in which the Pope surveys the pictorial decoration sponsored by his predecessors would credit the panels to Sixtus. Sixtus is said to have built--"fecit"--Santa Maria Maggiore and installed therein "in metallis aureis quamque in diversis historiis, sacris decoravit imaginibus."[8] But the terms are not clear for we cannot tell if Hadrian is referring to the arch alone or to the panels of the nave as well.

We may still, however, question the relative chronology of the mosaics of the nave and arch. Though the establishment of an absolute date is beyond the means of stylistic analysis, the contemporaneity or non-contemporaneity of the two areas of mosaics may be sought through this method. In this way, we may define the extent of the original decorative program. If the nave and arch demonstrate a stylistic correspondence, then we are required to seek a comprehensive programmatic and iconographic explanation.

Within the concept of "style," many elements are contained. Not only do we mean the treatment of the individual figures, but also the compositional varieties, technical or formal differences, the treatment or neglect of space, aerial

[8]Epistola Adriani Papae ad Beatum Carolum Regem, De Imaginibus, M.P.L. 98, 1285.

perspective, the presence or absence of architectural and scenic details, movement, drapery, and clothing styles, the relation of the figure to the field, Hellenisms, Romanisms, Byzantinisms, and classicistic features. All these features figure in a stylistic analysis of the mosaics. This analysis will proceed along the following lines: a demonstration of the diversity of hands to be seen in the nave, stylistic and technical affinities of nave and arch, compositional principles, the problem and determination of hypothetical models, and last, the problem of stylistic comparisons with other Early Christian mosaics.

A juxtaposition of two panels from the nave readily reveals the diversity with which we must contend; the Separation of Abraham and Lot and the Siege of Jericho are stylistically poles apart (figs. 4 and 27). How does one accommodate these two panels in an "organic vision"?[9] As mentioned above, several factors may be distinguished in this problem, the hands, styles, models, and restorations. But even once restorations have been discounted, differences persist. Again, how can we account for the figures of the three angelic messengers and the king-general of Edom, living in the same panel but scarcely breathing the same air (fig.

[9]A term of Künzle's in a recent article calling for a more comprehensive approach to the mosaics, "Per una visione organica . . ."

21)?

To begin with, there certainly was more than one artist involved in the execution of the mosaics. The same artist could not have executed the figures of Pharoah's daughter (fig. 14, 35), Moses in the Red Sea composition (figs. 19, 36), and the equestrian Joshua (figs. 24, 37). Nor could the same hand be responsible for Simeon or the elders in the Presentation scene on the arch (fig. 38) and the figures in the Marriage of Moses and Sephora (fig. 15). From the first group, it is easily apparent that very different styles are involved. The second group, with less blatant differences, is a matter of hands. Though I do not make an attempt to apportion each area of mosaic to a hypothetical master, several brief references to this division of work will indicate the nature of the problem.

In our catalog, the master who was responsible for the equestrian Joshua has been distinguished as the "battle master."[10] His was one of the more individual hands within the workshop, differing in several respects from those of his co-workers. The figures of the battle master are generally small in scale; their heads are particularly tiny and combined with the helmets they wear contribute often to a pinhead aspect. This is in distinction to the round-headed,

[10]Cf. below, Appendix A, 253 ff., esp. 259 ff.

full-coifed appearance of the heads of another master. See, for example, the Edom incident again (fig. 21), in which the small but colorfully appointed king forms a weak display before the three full-bodied ἄγγελοι of another artist. The battle master packs his alloted space with small figures; their contours often create repetitive forms (fig. 39). Though the garments he works with--the short military tunic, cuirass and paludamentum--do not flow or drape as easily as a long tunic or paenula, his figures are flatter and far less plastic than those of other masters. They appear pressed and starched and their stances, wooden or mechanical. They lack the grace and ease of posture of an Abraham or Lot (fig. 40), large, strong, full figures arrested in significant stance.

Another hand or style may be isolated in the Miracle of the Bitter Waters (fig. 21). The two figures of Moses, depicted in arrested movement, have an overabundance of drapery; the tunic of one figure flies out like that of a late antique Victory, exaggerated, mishandled, and impossible. This hand stiffens the more natural flow of figures and forms, but not yet to the extent of the battle master. The work of this artist may also be seen in the Marriage of Moses and Sephora, Isaac blessing Jacob, and possibly the entire Jacob series, though too much of that series is restored to ascertain this attribution.

Another hand seems to have excelled in the representation of civic crowds (figs. 41, 42), in particular in the

fine execution of faces and expressions on a small scale. Yet another hand is to be seen in Pharoah's daughter, a figure elegantly clad and jewelled who stares out into space, her attention and gaze ignoring the action of which she ostensibly partakes. So distinctive is the style of this woman, in her whole bearing, but, in particular, in the construction of her face from various-shaped and -colored tesserae (fig. 35) that she seems, at first glance, entirely alien. It may, however, be wrong to excuse her as an interpolation or repair because her distinguishing features are to be found, though less emphatically, in several figures on the triumphal arch.[11] See, for instance, the head of Simeon in the Presentation scene (fig. 43). Their similarities may be offset by the work of a previously mentioned master, he of the civic crowds, seen, for example, in the Stoning scene (fig. 23) and the Israelite horde at the edge of the Red Sea (figs. 36, 41).

Unlike the latter, the master who created Pharoah's daughter constructs the facial features of his figures with tesserae of various sizes and shapes, square, rectangular, wedge, rhomboid, irregular, and chip. The civic-crowd master, on the other hand, relies primarily on regularly-shaped or

[11] J. P. Richter, A. C. Taylor, The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art (London, 1904), 143; Berchem and Clouzot, Mosaïques Chrétiennes, 26, regarded the figure as a repair.

square tesserae, laid on like bricks; only occasionally does he resort to an irregular quadratic form or triangular shape. The master who executed Pharoah's daughter and Simeon set his tesserae in concentric patterns, based on the shape of the head as a whole, but moderated and complicated by the individual features. His faces are thus more broken up, more abstract, less quickly seen and illusionistically perceived. The fact that there are more and often irregular spaces between the tesserae contributes to the rough quality of his surfaces. Similar work is to be seen in the blind Isaac blessing Jacob (fig. 44), in the elders in the Presentation scene (fig. 38); it is characteristic of the faces of Moses and Sephora, but not the restored Jethro. This factor thus demonstrates some of the stylistic and technical correspondences between nave and arch. Others, based on similarities of figure and drapery types may be drawn.

Several of the angels in the Annunciation scene on the arch (fig. 45) may be compared with figures in the nave panels, for example, Moses at the Red Sea (fig. 36), or Abraham and Lot (fig. 40). All partake, in addition to a superficial sharing of ample white robes, of a fullness of form and a largeness of gesture.[12] Grand, free-moving

[12]The restoration of the angels of the arch has reduced some of this effect, particularly at the shoulders. The possibility persists that the wings of the angels may be interpolations, a suggestion based on their dry, primitive form. Winged angels were to be found by this period, e.g., the so-called prince's sarcophagus, Istanbul, and two panels on the doors of S. Sabina containing the Ascension of Elijah and

uninhibited types they may be opposed to the battle master's diminutive and crowded figures, or the adequate but not imposing figures of the Jacob cycle (fig. 12), or the stylized Abraham envisioning the three angels (fig. 3), or Moses sweetening the waters of Marah (fig. 21). Further, the Red Sea Moses and the angels on the arch exhibit a certain angularity or sharpness within the apparent plasticity of their figures: the abrupt rendering of the difficult pose Moses assumes may be compared to the often faltering or wooden disposition of the lower limbs of the angels. This may indicate that the artist has conscientiously followed a style, Hellenistic or illusionistic, rather than worked in one entirely natural for or native to him.

Again the two male figures in the Separation panel in the nave (fig. 40) and Simeon on the arch (fig. 46) demonstrate unmistakeable stylistic affinities. Superficially their garments and facial forms are intimately related, from their white crowns of hair to their simple sandals. Further, the fullness of form is comparable, in particular the execution of the drapery to indicate this form. Varying tonalities of white and grey define with subtlety the fall and folds of the tunics. One may propose that the same mosaicist executed these figures of nave and arch, and contrast his treatment of drapery with that of the mosacists responsible for the Annunciation scene (fig. 45), Moses at Marah (fig. 21), the

---

Zachariah before the Temple (in W. F. Volbach, Frühchristliche Kunst (Munich, 1958), pl. 75, 104, 105) henceforth Volbach, Kunst).

Red Sea panel (fig. 19), the Quails (fig. 20), or the Marriage of Moses and Sephora (fig. 15).

One last instance of the sharing of hands and styles by arch and nave may be demonstrated in the costuming of the figures of Mary in the Presentation (fig. 59), the attendants of Sephora (fig. 15), and Pharoah's daughter (fig. 14). Each wears a golden dalmatic highlighted by red markings with a heavily jewelled collar and frequently, a pill-box head ornament. The identical costuming of these figures is further proof of the participation of the same artists in the production of nave and arch mosaics. These stylistic comparisons thus evidence the contemporaneity of the execution of the mosaics of the nave and arch.

In addition to the superficial diversity produced in the mosaics by the working styles of the artists, the compositional and spatial qualities of the panels of the nave and the zones of the arch vary immensely. The composition of a typical panel is in two registers. However, in the twenty-seven surviving panels there are four exceptions to this norm: four panels have full-field compositions. As a rule, within a register the action develops from left to right, though in several registers it moves from right to left. In addition, several registers contain two scenes, or present the same figure two times, often placed side by

side without an insertion motif.[13]

The Battle at Rephidim (fig. 22) and the Siege of Jericho (fig. 27) are a ripe pair for comparison on compositional terms. Each is a military contest, in each symbolic action suggested by the deity is necessary to the course of action. The Battle at Rephidim fills a panel. By its composition in depth and its use of aerial perspective, the action contained projects both deep into and well beyond the physical panel. Opposing groups of soldiers rush forth from the middle of the panel on a downward diagonal, bulging out from the picture plain before meeting. On the plain of the panel itself stand the walled city to the left and at the right, the mountain gorge from behind which the Israelites issue. Beyond in the distance is the foot of the mountain which rises to support the key triad of figures, and further off, green mountain peaks and a white and blue sky. Architectural and scenic elements frame the action, but they do not inhibit it; rather, they serve to emphasize the push of the figures into space.

[13]Full field compositions--the first on the left, and on the right, seven, ten, and eighteen. Compositions with action developing from right to left--left: 15 (upper), right: 7, 13 (upper), 14 (lower), 16 (upper); the same type of composition may be found in manuscripts, cf. the Vienna Genesis, Nat'l Library, Ms. theol. gr. 31, fols. 23, 25 (H. Gerstinger, Die Wiener Genesis (Vienna, 1931), II, pl. 23, 25), multi-scenic registers: left: 2 (lower), 13 (upper), right: 8 (upper), 9 (upper), and 12 (upper).

The siege of Jericho is another pictorial matter altogether. The event has been primitively divided into two superposed registers in which the component elements, specified by the text, are isolated from one another against a golden background. Above: a unit of soldiers, a town with one wall falling, another unit of soldiers; below: a group of trumpeters, the arc and its bearers, a general and his guard, more trumpeters. There is not composition in space, rather a scattering of units. There is no expression of the fundamental cause-effect relationship between the units in the lower register and the succumbing fortifications above. Were it not for the text, one would never know that as a result of the circumvallation of the town by the trumpeting units, the arc and its bearers, the walls fell. The registers have a pseudo-background of mountain peaks and sky, but they merely fill in the panel surface and do not give an impression of space and distance as they might in other panels.

In terms of general composition, the mosaics of the arch have much in common with those of the nave. Lateral or frieze-like composition predominates; for the most part, the figures are serially distributed on the front plane of the surface of the arch. Composition in depth is minimal. Given the size of the figures in relation to the zone height, there is little opportunity for distribution in space. Further,

the golden background serves to push the figures forward, isolating them from whatever scenic apparatus there might be. Their size and the effect of the gold give them a monumental hieratic aspect which almost estranges them from the space, the scene and the narrative they inhabit and enact. It is this quality of the arch mosaic that contributes the most to the apparent disparity of style of nave and arch. Yet, on a figure-by-figure basis, the ties between arch and nave, particularly at its west end,[14] are very strong. Also, the architectural motifs, largely confined to the extremes of panels and scenes, are similar. It is, however, peculiar that in figure style and certain technical details this correspondence between west end nave panels and arch is to be recognized, while the more hieratic and stiffened Jacob and Joshua cycles with the little frozen figures, too frequent use of the pregnant pause, and the emotional isolation of the figures lends these panels a superficial coldness comparable to that of the arch rather than the other nave panels.

Composition on the horizontal, as opposed to composition in depth, results from both the iconographic precedents and the formal provisions. Continuous narration, a genre of which the nave panels partake, is characterized by frieze-like composition in sculpture, wall painting, and

[14] Künzle noted this greater stylistic proximity between nave panels at the west end and the arch, "Per una visione organica . . .," 157 ff., as did R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad (Olten, 1955), 147 and A. W. Byvanck, "Das Problem der Mosaiken von Santa Maria Maggiore," Festschrift Hans Hahnloser, ed. E. J. Beer, P. Hofer, L. Mojom (Basel, 1961), 24.

manuscript illumination.[15] Likewise, the composition of the scenes of the arch, while not as closely bound to the tradition of continuous narrative illustration as the panels of the nave, could only be frieze-like given the decision to present so many scenes in a zoned construction.

The relation of text and image, established in the models, introduced considerable variety into the nave cycle. Some panels reflect their models' composition according to the principles of continuous narrative illustration by an extreme dependence on the text, while others demonstrate a surprising freedom. The Hospitality of Abraham (fig. 3) partakes of the continuous narrative type of illustration; two of its incidents are juxtaposed to the extent that the one figure of Abraham turning to his guests emerges out from behind another addressing Sarah. The two figures of Moses in the Waters of Marah scene (fig. 21), one talking to the populace, the other performing a miracle, are separated by several figures and bushes, producing a more legible juxtaposition of scenes. To these examples, so bound to their texts, one may contrast the panel (fig. 29) in which Joshua

[15] On the principles of continuous narrative illustration, see F. Wickhoff, Die Wiener Genesis (Vienna, 1895), 88 ff.; K. Weitzmann, Illustrations in Roll and Codex (Princeton, 1947), passim; ibid., "Narration in Early Christendom," A.J.A. 61 (1957), 83 ff.; P. H. von Blanckenhagen, "Narration in Hellenistic and Roman Art," A.J.A. 61 (1957), 78 ff.

makes the Amorites flee in terms the text scarcely suggests:

> So Joshua came upon them suddenly, having marched up all night from Gilgal. And the Lord threw them into a panic before Israel, who slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them . . .
>
> Joshua 10. 9-10

The panel is dressed in Roman imperial iconography. Joshua is pictorialized as a Roman emperor or general doing battle on a horse, in the guise of Alexander the Great. The composition, with its central equestrian figure, is famous in imperial and late antique iconography as a symbolic expression of the virtus of the protagonist.[16]

These examples represent extremes in the relation between text and image to be found in the nave cycle of Santa Maria Maggiore. The registers of the two panels cited as examples of continuous narration are filled with figures and scenic details simply and directly transferred from illuminated manuscripts, in which tradition there were no

[16]The Alexander iconography is preserved in a mosaic in Naples, presenting the battle between the Greeks and the Persians, Museo Nazionale ("Alessandro Magno," Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica I, opp. 240). One of its more renowned reflections in roman imperial art is on the Ludovisi sarcophagus, Museo delle Terme, Rome (cf. G. M. A. Hanfmann, Roman Art (Greenwich, 1964), fig. 134). See also the tomb of the Iulii, St. Remy (E. Garger. "Die Kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Reliefs am Iulierdenkmal von St. Remy," Röm. Mitt. 52 (1937), 1 ff.).

scruples about the reappearance of the same figure in one frame.[17] The illustrations run into one another as do the sentences of a text. At the other extreme, the suggestion of battle has invited the adoption of a famed compositional motif, significant for its historical and symbolic allusions.

Much of the superficial diversity within the mosaics may be attributed to the strong influence of the models. In brief, the models for the nave cycle in particular must have differed in style, composition, and origin in time and place. Bianchi Bandinelli considered the same problem of hands and models in his study of the Ambrosian Iliad.[18] He drew analogies between this sixth century manuscript and the nave mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, terming the latter, "the key problem of Hellenistic-Byzantine painting in the West."[19] On the basis of stylistic examination, Bianchi Bandinelli isolated four groups and two sub-groups of models used by

[17]See, for example, the Paris Psalter, Bibl. Nat., Ms. gr. 139, fols. 3v, 422v, 431v, 446v for the reappearance of the protagonist, and the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. gr. 510, among many, fols. 3v, 30v, 52v, 69v (both mss. reproduced in H. Omont, Miniatures des plus anciens Manuscripts Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI au XVI Siècle (Paris, 1925), pl. IV, X, XII, XIV, XX, XXI, XXIV, XXVI, henceforth Omont, Les Mss Grecs). Also in the Vienna Genesis, e.g., fols. 10, 13 (Gerstinger, Wiener Genesis, II, pl.10, 13).

[18]Bianchi Bandinelli, Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures, 111-156.

[19]Ibid., 146-148, on the panels of Santa Maria Maggiore.

the artists in Santa Maria Maggiore.[20] The evidence they supplied buttressed his analysis of groups and models for the Iliad manuscript. Matthiae recently reworked Bianchi Bandinelli's groups, finding further affinities and relationships with various monuments.[21] Others, too, have dealt with the mosaics from the point of view of determining models and sources, juggling and matching iconographic details, compositional and spatial conceptions and stylistic notions in an attempt to relate the mosaics to the several artistic currents of late antique and early medieval art.[22] At most, this method obtains generalizing conclusions.

What may be said--and even this is still in question--is that the nave mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore depend on older models, the age of which cannot be specified. The models were in all probability illuminated Bibles, that elusive species in Early Christian art which has left the slightest remains, four pages from an illuminated Book of Kings. This manuscript, the Quedlinburg Itala, is not

[20]He charts this distribution of the hands as follows: Artist A: L9-18; B: R14-19; C: R7-10; D: R2-3; BB: R11-13; DD: L1-3; L7 he does not determine; ibid., 147, fig. 216.

[21]Matthiae, Mosaici Medioevali, 111 ff.

[22]Byvanck discusses the stylistic differences and possible sources of the arch and nave mosaics, "Das Problem . . .," 15-26, likewise, but limiting himself to a section of the nave, J. Kollwitz, "Der Josuazyklus von S. Maria Maggiore," R.Q.Schr. 61 (1966), 105 ff.

securely dated; it swings on the pendulum of the nave mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore.[23]

I suggest that there were at least two manuscript traditions behind the models and the mosaics of the nave. The first was an illuminated Pentateuch from the Greek-speaking East; the second, western in origin, derived from the pre-Vulgate Vetus Italica. This suggestion is made on the evidence of iconographic peculiarities. First, the depiction of the messengers to Edom as angels is a result of the Greek ἄγγελος which means both "angel" and "messenger," in contrast to the Latin distinction between angelus and nuntius. The presence of angels thus indicates the use of an illuminated Greek text or Greek-influenced model for this panel of the nave. Second, the object in the hand of the angel who appeared to Joshua is neither the Septuagint ῥομφαία, nor the Vulgate gladius, but the Vetus Italica framea, thus evidencing first, the illustration in the Latin West of the Book of Joshua prior to Jerome's translation and second, the survival of at least part of this

[23] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Inv. 10117, H. Degering and A. Boeckler date the Ms. ca. 350-380, Die Quedlinburger Itala-fragmente (Berlin, 1932), 109 f. For an introduction to the problems of reconstructing early biblical MSS., and postulating their sources, cf. Weitzmann, "Die Illustration der Septuaginta," Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, ser. 3.3/4 (1952/53), 96 ff., and J. Gutmann, "The Illuminated Jewish Manuscript in Antiquity," Gesta 5 (1966), 39 ff.

cycle in Santa Maria Maggiore.[24]

The christological cycle of the arch did not share with the nave either of these hypothesized models. Much of its iconography is unique, in particular that of the upper two zones. In their common identification, the Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi differ in composition and iconography from other illustrations of the same theme.[25] In fact, only the Massacre of the Innocents attracts comparative material: the lower scene on one of the leaves of the five-part diptych in the Milan Cathedral treasury contains similar compositional elements though the action has reached a more advanced stage (figs. 47, 48).[26] The lack

[24]Künzle, "Per una visione organica . . . .," 162. This Vetus Italica iconographic detail helps confirm the stylistic impression given by the Joshua cycle. Its small puppet-like figures, who move and turn brusquely and stand stiffly, the poor distribution of figures and scenic detail and the absence of composition in space and depth resemble certain features of Roman popular art, that other current of Roman art which persisted alongside the classical current from the first century B.C. on, and which emerged in the fourth century as the official style, to be seen on the Arch of Constantine. Given the nature of the subject matter--military history--comparisons with the reliefs of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius are only natural, cf. Richter and Taylor, The Golden Age, passim.

[25]See below, Chapter V, 110 and 147.

[26]The children have been wrenched from their mothers' arms; the latter raise their arms in distress, cf. W. F. Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters, 2nd ed. (Mainz, 1952), cat. no. 119 (henceforth, Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten). For its hypothetical relationship to the iconography of the arch, cf. C. Bertelli, La Madonna di S. Maria in Trastevere (Rome, 1961), 48, 113, note 27.

of comparative material for the arch may thus indicate a rather particularized program which was neither adaptable to repetition nor based on earlier models. But this we shall return to in greater detail.

The problems of the style and composition of the Santa Maria Maggiore nave mosaics are, therefore, intimately bound with the question of the models used. The style not only depends on the training of the individual mosaicist but the model he followed. Styles and hands are mixed within panels, within registers, and within zones. Comparisons and references cross the nave and jump from nave to arch. One may begin to suggest that certain styles and/or hands were turned to particular subjects: the battle-master to military figures, a more Hellenistic and plastic hand to patriarchs and angels and the arch in general, a third to civic groups, etc. A workshop containing about a half dozen mosaicists working in a variety of styles may thus be hypothesized, in which there was relative equality in the distribution of work although the more monumental masters were assigned the west end of the nave and the arch. The battle-master, confined to small areas in several panels apseward, received the entire Joshua cycle as his own.

If a single style does not characterize the nave and arch mosaics, neither do two distinct styles cleave them. Their contemporaneity may be assured by the general diversity

of hands they share as well as by the demonstrable comparisons of a technical and stylistic character.

This diversity of style within the mosaics hinders an attempt to date them on a stylistic basis. Further, amidst this diversity there is another peculiar factor: the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore attract hardly a comparative feature with any of the mosaic cycles executed in chronological proximity. Comparative stylistic and technical studies may be attempted with the following monuments: Rome, S. Sabina, S. Pudenziana, S. Costanza; Naples: S. Giovanni in Fonte; Ravenna: the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Orthodox Baptistery; Milan: S. Aquilino, and S. Vittore in Ciel d'Oro; and Thessalonika, H. Giorgios.[27]

These juxtapositions reveal at most considerable diversity of quality, style, and technique characterizing mosaic decoration in the late fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries. The similarities between the dark female figure in the Adoration of the Magi on the arch (fig. 50) and the "Ecclesiae" in S. Sabina, on the one hand, or some of the prophets who inhabit the tendrils in the lower zone of the Orthodox Baptistery (fig. 51) and a rotund Israelite elder

[27]For illustrations of these monuments, Volbach, Kunst, pls. 130 (S. Pudenziana), 32-52 (S. Costanza), 145 ff. (Galla Placidia), 140 ff. (Orthodox Baptistery), 138 (S. Aquilino), 132 (S. Vittore), 122 ff. (H. Giorgios). For the Naples Baptistery, see J.-L. Maier, Le Baptistère de Naples et ses Mosaiques (Paradisos 19), (Fribourg, 1964), pls. 3-12; for S. Sabina and S. Pudenziana, Matthiae, Mosaici Medioevali, I 55-81, II, figs. 36-50.

on the other hand (figs. 20-21), are far outweighed by the differences in the total conception of each tessellated enterprise. Little in Santa Maria Maggiore is quite as hellenistically bucolic as the Good Shepherd in Galla Placidia, as dry as either the apostolic college in S. Aquilino, or the saints' portraits in S. Vittore (fig. 52), or the christological scenes in the Neapolitan baptistery, as majestic and monumental as the apse of S. Pudenziana, or quite as elegant, ethereal, and Byzantine as the cupola of H. Giorgios. Technically in the mere shape and embedding of the mosaic tesserae, these monuments display a remarkable diversity (cf. figs. 38, 41-44, 51-53).

The paucity of surviving monuments from this 75 to 100 year period renders any attempt at comparative analysis futile and inconclusive. The stylistic relationship of mosaic monuments in this period and the geographical origins of style remain elusive. At best, Nordhagem has determined the "Italian character" of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, a consideration based on technical analysis which reveals that "Italian" mosaics are comprised of tesserae of colored glass alone, while those in the East, or in Rome under Byzantine influence, contain marble cubes amidst the glass ones.[28]

[28] P. J. Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII," ACTA 2 (1965), 154 ff., esp. 156. He characterizes the Italian tradition as having "impressionistic modelling with strongly colored glass tesserae of large format."

In conclusion, first, it is impossible to assign to the mosaics of the nave and arch a chronological sequence. The sharing of a somewhat exceptional stylistic variety establishes their contemporaneity. Second, stylistic analysis does not permit a precision of their date. Nor do the mosaics reveal substantial affinities with other mosaic programs. In fact, each mosaic program of this period demonstrates an individuality more significant than any limited comparisons which may be drawn. A stylistic dating of Santa Maria Maggiore or any other mosaic of its period is not within the means and methods of present scholarship.

We must, therefore, accept the evidence afforded by the two inscriptions of Sixtus and provisionally assign the mosaics of the nave and arch to the period of his pontificate, 432-440. Further, the establishment of the contemporaneity of these mosaics now requires that the definition of the program embrace the Old Testament cycle of the nave and the christological cycle of the arch.

CHAPTER III

CHURCH DECORATION PRIOR TO SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE

With the attribution of the mosaics of the nave and arch to Sixtus III, the date of the oldest extant pictorial decoration in the congregational space of a Christian basilica is delayed to the second third of the fifth century. Once thought to be mid-fourth or early third century,[1] the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore then evidenced an early figurative decoration of the walls of a building destined for the performance of the liturgy. But the correction of this error and the absence of archeological data for pictorial cycles in other fourth and early fifth century churches limit the evidence for the decoration of the Early Church to non-figurative forms. Only with the cycles of Santa Maria Maggiore and those sponsored by Pope Leo in S. Pietro in Vaticano and S. Paolo f.l.m. did the practice of providing extensive figurative decoration in a church commence.[2]

Figurative decoration did, of course, grace Christian

[1]For the fourth century date, see above, Chapter II, 19 ff., note 2. Richter and Taylor proposed that the nave mosaics were Severan in date, The Golden Age . . ., 8 ff.

[2]See below, Chapter VI, 180 ff.

buildings prior to this period. The apses of Christian basilicas received figurative programs by the second half of the fourth century. S. Pudenziana preserves the earliest extant apsidal composition and may be dated to the last decade of the fourth century.[3] The original apse decoration of St. Peter's has also been assigned to a date within this half-century.[4] More abundant decoration in Christian buildings not specified for the performance of the Mass was however permissible. The mausolea of two of Constantine's offspring preserve programs containing scriptural scenes, that is the mausoleum of Constantia on the Via Nomentana in Rome, and the mausoleum of Constans outside Tarragona, Spain.[5] Two other fourth century imperial mausolea likewise contained Christian subject matter in their decorative schemes; S. Aquilino in Milan, a mausoleum whose patron remains unknown,[6] and the mausoleum of Galerius, which, when it was transformed

[3]Krautheimer, "S. Pudenziana," Corpus III, 279 (Under "387 or 390-401/417," no. 1), 285 f.

[4]Constantius, 337-363, completed the basilica begun by his father, adding the apse mosaic and an inscription: "Iustitiae sedis, fidei domus, aula pudoris/haec est quam cernis, pietas quam possidet omnis/quae patris et fili, virtutibus inclyta gaudet/auctoremq. suum genitoris laudet aequat," E. Diehl, I.L.C.V.,I, 340, no. 1753.

[5]H. Stern, "Les Mosaiques de l'Église de Sainte-Constance à Rome," D. O. Papers 12 (1958), 157 ff. and H. Schlunk and T. Hauschild, "Vorbericht uber die Untersuchungen in Centcelles," Madrider Mitteilungen 2 (1961), 119 ff.

[6]A. Calderini, G. Chierici, and C. Cecchelli, La basilica di S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Milano (Milan, 1951), 202 ff.

into a Christian building by the Emperor Theodosius, received a mosaic program of Eastern saints and martyrs.[7] Baptisteries, too, were permitted mural decoration; that of Dura-Europos preserves the oldest pictorial program in a Christian edifice, dating to the mid-third century, and containing several primitive christological and miracle scenes.[8] A more extensive christological cycle is found in S. Giovanni in Fonte, Naples, containing the earliest extant mosaic cycle in a baptistery in the Roman Empire proper.[9] In addition, another species of art in Christian monuments was that sponsored by Damasus: in restoring the cult spots of martyrs in Rome, in addition to affixing epigrams of his own authorship, Damasus commissioned pictures illustrating the manner of martyrdom. Prudentius, in his poem on the martyrdom of Hippolytus, describes just such a commemmorative image:

> Exemplar sceleris paries habet inlitus, in quo
> multicolor fucus digerit omne nefas.
> Picta super tumulum species liquidis viget umbris
> effigians tracti membra cruenta viri . . .[10]

[7]H. Torp. Mosaikkene: St. Georg-Rotunden (Oslo, 1963).

[8]Carl H. Kraeling, The Christian Building, Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report, VII-2, ed. C. B. Welles (New York, 1967), 204 ff.

[9]Maier, Le Baptistère de Naples, passim.

[10]Prudentius, Peristephanon XI, lines 123 ff. (ed. H. J. Thomson, Loeb Classical Library, 1953, II, 312 ff.). For the activity of Damasus in regard to the restoration of tombs, H. Leclerq, "Damase," D.A.C.L. IV.1, 153 ff.

Four texts are, however, often adduced as evidence for a tradition of mural cycles in Christian basilicas in the late fourth and early fifth century, that is, prior to Santa Maria Maggiore and the Leonine cycles. The confidence placed in these texts is, in my opinion, not justified. Of these four, the date of the first, the likelihood that the second actually refers to mural decorations, and the attribution as well as the reference of the third to mural decoration are highly questionable. Despite their weaknesses, these texts serve as an obstacle to the appreciation of the innovation effected at Santa Maria Maggiore and for this reason they must be dealt with critically.

The first text has been compiled from two medieval syllogae and consists of nine distychs, supposedly copies of the tituli placed over pictures in the basilica of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Rome.[11] Wilpert attributed both the texts and the long-lost pictures to Pammachius, the founder of the basilica who died in 409/410.[12] However, there is not a detail about the distychs, other than their subject matter, which is incontestable. Neither the authorship of the distychs, nor the location of the pictures they describe, nor their date, nor their patron has been assured.

[11] De Rossi, Inscriptiones (1935), II, 21, no. 4147. The five distychs of the Old Testament were found in Lorsch I, the four New Testament ones in the Cambridge sylloge.

[12] Wilpert, RMM, II, 642 ff.

The very date of the church may preclude the existence of a mural cycle in the church in Pammachius' day. As Krautheimer concludes in his study of the basilica, construction may only have begun in Pammachius' last years, if not after his death as the result of a bequest, reaching completion between 440 and 461, under Leo, who left an inscription commemorating Pammachius as the founder of the basilica and his own, Leo's, decoration of the narthex or atrium and the facade.[13]

Wilpert assumed that a cycle of pictures decorated the clerestorey walls of the basilica, six scenes per wall, Old Testament ones opposite New Testament ones, a typological juxtaposition. Yet neither of the two texts of which the distych collection is comprised specifies such a location. In fact, one errs impossibly. The five Old Testament subjects preserved in the Sylloge of Lorsch are noted to be intra ecclesiae Iohannis et Pauli; the four New Testament ones, interpolated in the biography of Pope Symmachus found in the Sylloge of Cambridge, are mistakenly assigned a location in a staircase constructed behind the apse by that

[13] Krautheimer, "SS. Giovanni e Paolo," Corpus I, 1937, 301. The inscription preserved in Lorsch I is attributed to Leo by Krautheimer, 270 (Under "probably 440-461").

pope.[14]

All in all, the uncertainty in the dating of the basilica and the entire lack of archeological evidence for its interior decoration obviate consideration of these distychs as evidence for a pictorial cycle prior to the period to which we may assign Santa Maria Maggiore.

The Dittochaeon of Prudentius, the second text, is often considered a description of an extensive mural cycle.[15] The forty-nine years verse tituli comprising twenty-four Old Testament subjects and twenty-four New Testament subjects from the Gospels and Acts are hypothetically distributed on the opposing walls of a nave while the apocalyptic matter of the last titulus is supposed to have covered a triumphal arch.[16] This is a neat distribution of the text, and not without its parallels, as we shall see in S. Pietro in Vaticano and S. Paolo f.l.m.[17] But for several reasons, Prudentius' Dittochaeon cannot be accepted as evidence for

[14]De Rossi, Inscriptiones (1935), II, 21. The Cambridge sylloge reads "ad beatum Iohannem et Paulum fecit [Symmachus] gradus ubi super picturas veteris et novi testamenti hos versus fecit."

[15]Prudentius, Dittochaeon, passim (Loeb, II, 346 ff).

[16]The proposal of J. P. Kirsch, "Le Dittochaeum de Prudence et les Monuments de l'Antiquité Chrétienne," Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Rome [1900], 1902), 127 ff.

[17]See below, Chapter VI, 180 ff.

an ecclesiastical picture cycle.

To begin with, Prudentius was a Spaniard and the Spanish Church had a strong and effective policy against images in churches. This position was established early in the fourth century at the Council of Elvira. The bishops convened at this council adopted as one of their canons the following:

> Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur.[18]

This ruling purely and simply forbids the presence of pictures in a church. Given the lack of evidence for mural cycles or other figurative decoration in early medieval Spanish churches, the ruling would seem to have been obeyed.

Thus Prudentius' verses, if composed in Spain, could not have had reference to basilical decoration. Nor do the verses themselves indicate such a destination. Although their wording often refers to images (cf. Hospitality at Mamre[19]), there is no reason to assume it need be a mural cycle when an illuminated manuscript of the Dittochaeon might suffice. Nor given the lack of evidence for such cycles, can it be assumed that Prudentius wrote his verses for the program of a non-Spanish church. At any rate, the contents of the poem

[18]H. Leclerq, "Elvire, Concile d'," D.A.C.L. IV.2, 2691, also C. J. von Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, 2 ed. (Freiburg, 1875), I, 212 ff., esp. 240.

[19]Prudentius, Dittochaeon IV (Loeb, II, 348).

are scriptural events, personages, and symbols so well known they need not be accompanied by an illustration, merely a visual image in the reader's or auditor's mind. The Dittochaeon may well have been Prudentius' Christian answer to the Imagines of Philostratus.

The third text, the so-called Ambrosian tituli, purports to be a set of inscriptions to a mural cycle installed in the Basilica Ambrosiana by its founder, Ambrose.[20] The twenty-one distychs, of typological content, entered the literature of inscriptions at the hand of Franz Juret, an editor of the Bibliotheca Patrum, in 1589.[21] Juret never gave his source for the inscriptions, merely prefacing the transcription:

> Incipiunt disticha sancti Ambrosii de diversis rebus quae in basilica Ambrosiana scripta sunt.[22]

Research in the various syllogae and other manuscripts containing collections of inscriptions or records of churches has not yielded Juret's source, nor evidence for any greater antiquity than the sixteenth century for the inscriptions.[23]

[20] S. Merkle, "Die Ambrosianischen Tituli," R.Q.Schr. 10 (1896), 185 ff., with distychs on 214 ff.

[21] Ibid., 186 ff., and De Rossi, Inscriptiones (1888), II, 184.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 189 ff. The author reviews opinions on the text, mentioning those who accept it, i.e., Tillemont, Biraghi, Garrucci, De Rossi. Also E. Steinmann, Die Tituli und die kirchliche Wandmalerei im Abendlande vom V bis zum X Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1892), 63 ff.

In an article in their defense, Merkle adduced the several arguments against them which he set out to defeat--their absence from the syllogae, their questionable authorship, the lack of comparative material at such an early date, the strange selection of themes lacking a unifying principle.[24] Despite Merkle's attempts, these factors cast strong doubts on the authenticity of the tituli. To be added to these is the complete lack of archeological and documentary evidence for narrative and typological cycles in Milanese churches in the fourth and fifth centuries. Even more so than the verses of Prudentius and the tituli of SS. Giovanni a Paolo, the authenticity of the Pseudo-Ambrosian tituli is too tenuous to permit its employ as evidence for a mural cycle in a Christian basilica, either in the time of Ambrose or within the next quarter century.

Similar doubts cannot be exercised before the fourth text. It gives explicit information for the date, location, patronage and subject matter of a pictorial cycle in a specific church: only archeological evidence for this cycle is lacking. In a Christmas poem, written ca. 404, Bishop Paulinus of Nola describes to his friend, Nicetas, a new basilica of St. Felix which he had recently completed at

[24]Merkle, "Die Ambrosianischen Tituli," 190 ff.

Nola.[25] Within this basilica, one could see "picturas fucatis agmine longo porticibus."[26] These he describes in some detail, devoting many verses to an explanation of the origin and purpose of the program.

The motive behind the installation and the program itself was didactic and experimental. A pilgrim locus, the tomb of St. Felix and the several churches constructed around it were visited by many peasants, faithful but illiterate: "rusticitas non cassa fide neque docta legendi," who had the common habit of tippling in church.[27] The decision to put up the pictures was a rare one, an innovation: "pingere sanctas raro more domos animantibus adsimulatis."[28] It was an experiment to see if the spirit of the peasants would be affected, and influenced by the contents of the pictures, they would forget to drink.

> propterea visum nobis opus utile totis
> Felicis domibus pictura ludere sancta,
> si forte adtonitas haec per spectacula mentes
> agrestum caperet fucata coloribus umbra,
> quae super exprimitur titulis, ut littera monstret
> quod manus explicuit, dumque omnes picta vicissim

[25]For the date of the poem, Carmen Natale IX (27) and the distribution of its verses, cf. R. C. Goldschmidt, Paulinus' Churches at Nola (Amsterdam, 1940), 15, 40 ff. Also, A. Weis, "Die Verteilung der Bildzyklen des Paulin von Nola in den Kirchen von Cimitile," R.R.Schr. 52 (1957), 129 ff.

[26]Lines 511 f. (Goldschmidt, 60).

[27]Lines 548-560 (Goldschmidt, 62).

[28]Lines 543-544 (Goldschmidt, 62).

> ostendunt releguntque sibi, vel tardius escae
> sint memores, dum grata oculis ieiunia pascunt,
> atque ita se melior stupefactis inserat usus.
> dum fallit pictura famem; sanctasque legenti
> historias castorum operum subrepit honestas
> exemplis inducta piis; . . . .[29]

Thus, virtue would be induced by pious example. The contents of the pictures to which Paulinus affixed tituli, "ud littera monstret quod manus explicuit,"[30] are twice turned to in the poem. First Paulinus tells us that the pictures are drawn from the first eight books of the Bible, terminating with the beginning of Kings:

> omnia namque tenet serie pictura fideli,
> quae senior scripsit per quinque volumina Moyses,
> quae gessit domini signatus nomine Iesus,
> .....Ruth tempore libro,
> tempora Iudicibus finita et Regibus orta[31]

Later, after explaining to Nicetas why the "rarus mos" was introduced, he returns to a description of the contents of the mural cycle, referring to it as matter for prayer, "quae facta et picta videmus, materiam orandi . . ."[32] Then Paulinus phrases his description of the cycle as one would a prayer:

> de Genesi, precor, hanc orandi collige sensum,
> ne maneam terrenus Adam, sed virgine terra
> nascar et exposito veteri nova forma imago.
> educar tellure mea generisque mei sim
> degenar et sponsae festinem ad mellea terrae
> flumina, Chaldei seruatus ab igne camini.

[29]Lines 580-591 (Goldschmidt, 64).

[30]Lines 584-585 (Goldschmidt, 64).

[31]Lines 511-530 (Goldschmidt, 60).

[32]Lines 596-597 (Goldschmidt, 64).

sim facilis tectis quasi Loth fore semper aperta,
liberer ut Sodomis neque vertam lumina retro,
ne salis in lapidem vertar sale cordis egenus.
hostia vina deo tamquam puer offerar Isac
et mea ligna gerens sequar almum sub cruce patrem.
Inveniam puteos, sed ne, precor, obruat illos
invidus et viventis aquae caecator Amalech.
sim profugus mundi, tamquam benedictus Iacob
fratris Edom fugitinus erat, fessoque sacrandum
subponam capiti lapidem Christoque quiescam.
sit mihi castus amor, sit et horror amoris iniqui,
carnis ut inlecebras velut inviolatus Joseph
effugiam vincis exuto corpore liber
criminis et spolium mundo carnale relinquam.
tempus enim longe fieri complexibus, instat
summa dies, prope iam dominus, iam surgere somno
tempus et ad domini pulsum vigelare paratos.
sit mihi ab Aegypto bonus exitus, ut duce lege
divisos penetrans undosi pectoris aestus
fluctibus evadam rubris dominique triumphum
demerse Faraone canam, cui subpuce uoto
exultando tremens et cum formidine gaudens
ipsius pia dona, meos commendo labores.[33]

He has phrased his description of the pictures in a formula similar to that used in the many prayers of the Early Christian liturgy which compile instances from the Old and New Testaments of God's intervention, aid, grace, and favor in behalf of biblical personages, compilations which work to praise and glorify God and then to petition similar favor in behalf of the supplicant.[34] Paulinus' cycle thus becomes an

[33]Lines 608-641 (Goldschmidt, 66).

[34]Among the many preserved prayers of this type, see, for example, the "Ordo Commendationis Animae" in the Breviarium Romanum Ordo ministranti infirmis Sacramenta Eucharistiae et Extremae unctionis cum Animae Commendatione et apostolica Benedictione, ex Rituali romano (Rome, 1790), 26; or in the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 3.37, "A Prayer containing the memorial of His providence, and an enumeration of the various benefits afforded the saints by the providence of God through Christ," and VIII, 2.12, "The Constitution of

allegory of the life a pious Christian should lead, a paradigmatic, pictorial prayer.

The poem is an extraordinary document, informing us of the Early Christian attitudes toward pictorial decoration within a church. Paulinus, one of the leading Christians of his day, a correspondent of Jerome, Pammachius, and Augustine,[35] familiar with Christian custom through these men and through his experiences in Campania, France, and Spain, clearly acknowledges the rarity of his decorative scheme and feels obliged to excuse his innovation. First, he explains, it is an experiment designed to help rid the Church of one of its troublesome problems, that of profane behavior within the sacred buildings. Second, it is didactic in content, a simple pictorial translation of subject matter familiar in prayers, therefore, though

---

the Apostle James," A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, eds. Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII (New York, 1890), 474 ff., 486 ff. For a critical study of this type of prayer, in which its origins in the Hebrew liturgy are presented, cf. W. Bousset, "Eine jüdische Gebetssammlung im siebenten Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen," Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Kl., 1915, no. 3, 435 ff. The relationship of these liturgical formulae to Early Christian art was first proposed by E. LeBlant in the introduction to his Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles (Paris, 1878), xxi ff., and was republished under the title "Les Bas-reliefs des sarcophages chrétiens et les liturgies funéraires," Révue archéologique n.s. 20.7[2] (1879), 233 ff., 276 ff. A study by D. Kauffmann presented the ties between the Jewish liturgy and Early Christian art, "Sens et origine des symboles tumulaires de l'Ancien Testament dans l'art chrétien primitif," Révue des études juives 14 (1887), 33 ff., 217 ff.

[35] See the biography of Paulinus, H. Leclerq, "Nole," D.A.C.L. XII.2, 1439 ff.

innovative in medium, it was traditional in content.

Paulinus' admission of innovation and his lingering uneasiness are an exceedingly significant testimony. They aid the dismissal of the other three texts. For, if these three texts were to be taken for indications of pictorial cycles ca. 400 and earlier, and if on their evidence other cycles, no longer known, may be presumed to have existed in Rome, Milan, and Spain, then Paulinus need not have explained and excused his cycle as he did. That he, a well-educated and informed Christian, is conscious of his innovation is a further proof of the fallibility of the other three texts as witnesses to mural decoration in the early Church.

In summary, then, the evidence for decoration on the walls of a Christian basilica in the years before 430 is slight. Of the several texts often cited in behalf of a late fourth or early fifth century tradition, only one is not studded with obscurities, iconographical anachronisms and weaknesses. This one admits the rarity of the type of decoration it describes. Due to its provincial location and the retrospective nature of its subject matter, Paulinus' cycle was not a fountainhead of basilical decoration. That role may be assigned Santa Maria Maggiore, which by virtue of papal patronage, location, and a new approach to narrative illustration on a monumental scale stands at the head of tradition. Though not the first to have an "illuminated"

nave, Santa Maria Maggiore was the first in Rome and the first sponsored by the papacy. For these reasons, within the determination of the program of its mosaics must lie an explanation for the change in policy toward the place of art in a church which the installation of the mosaics evidences. The mosaics must be ascribable to either the untraditional and innovative genius of a patron, or they must reflect a crisis within the Roman Church of such magnitude as to require this reversal of policy. Or, the two factors may have interacted to produce the mosaic cycle of Santa Maria Maggiore.

CHAPTER IV

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE NAVE

A. Prior Theories

In the Introduction, I mentioned briefly that despite the many studies devoted to Santa Maria Maggiore, the program of the mosaics has yet to be determined. The two basic approaches to the nave mosaics are, though to a certain extent, mutually inclusive, not comprehensive enough. The one views the cycle as an Old Testament narrative program built around the lives of five major patriarchs. The cycle is thus a heroic re-enactment or epic of the Christian past. The other approach is typological; it states that prophetic events contained within the Old Testament have been excerpted from the narrative to illuminate the clerestorey walls of Santa Maria Maggiore. Each of these propositions is correct as far as it goes, but neither is adequate. Neither approach can define the program nor produce an intimate alliance with the iconography of the arch. Both theories, however, help to illuminate the particularities, and the peculiarities, of the mosaics. Their exposition aids the search for a programmatic definition which will explain each part and give meaning to the whole.

The story of the Hebrews extending along the nave is representative of all humanity, Matthiae recently wrote.[1] A story of God's people, it emphasizes the providential elements in the lives of the major patriarchs, manifest through divine intervention. This theory recognizes one of the significant achievements of the mosaic cycle of Santa Maria Maggiore: as a narrative cycle, it bears a new relationship to the Bible. In earlier Christian art, the use of Scriptures was limited and concise. A story was not illustrated; rather, a religious truth was demonstrated.[2]

[1]Matthiae wrote:

> 'La serie delle storie bibliche, pur con le sue allusioni e le prefigurazioni acutamente ricercate dalla letteratura patristica, si presenta come una vera narrazione nella quale l'elemento naturale ed umano predomina; . . . La storia del popolo ebreo, per essere l'unica valida sotto il profilo religioso, riassume quella dell'intera umanità prima della venuta del Redentore e ne contiene i motivi e le necessarie premesse. Non se è voluta tuttavia sottolineare la caduta, antefatto insopprimibile della redenzione, ma piuttosto quell' elemento provvidenziale nella vita dei maggiori patriarchi, che si manifesta attraverso l'assistenza divina, sempre vigile e presente; adombramenti e prefigurazioni sono l'espressione di una attesa fiduciosa rivolta verso un futuro che la constante presenza della provvidenza rende certo . . .'

Mosaici Medioevali, 88.

[2]Likewise, the non-scriptural subjects, for example, an Orant or the Good Shepherd, symbolized a similar religious attitude, cf. T. Klauser, who while challenging the Christian origins of many of these symbols demonstrates the hieroglyphic nature of the first Christian art, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst," Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 1 (1958), 5 ff., 2 (1959), 115 ff., 3 (1960), 112 ff., 4 (1961), 128 ff., 5 (1962), 113 ff., 6 (1963), 71 ff., 7 (1964), 67 ff., and 8 (1965) 126 ff.

In catacomb painting or on sarcophagi, several figures in stereotyped stance and attitude signal an eschatological message or a scriptural event.[3] A youth, arms upraised, standing between lions, a naked man and woman, a tree and a reptile, three youths with flames at their feet do not call to mind the primary narrative context from which they have been excerpted. Rather they exemplify a message of divine salvation, a role they play in contemporary Jewish and Christian liturgy and prayer. Paulinus' cycle of illustrations of model conduct and divine beneficence is likewise based on this approach. Thus, while his cycle is significant for its location, its content is largely tradition-bound. The narrative cycle in Santa Maria Maggiore, on the other hand, is novel.

Our knowledge of the existence of Old Testament illustration in the fourth century or earlier, beyond this primal level, is slight and mostly inferential.[4] The ivory box from Bresica, datable within the last quarter of the fourth

[3] E. Kitzinger spoke of the eschatological orientation of the images on these sarcophagi in a lecture on the Constantinian frieze sarcophagus, delivered at Dumbarton Oaks, during a symposium on Constantine, May, 1965.

[4] The extensive Old Testament cycle in the synagogue at Dura is another matter altogether. Its iconography and compositional principles are on the whole distinct from those of Early Christian and Byzantine art, though certain iconographic and programmatic affiliations have been proposed by Stern, "Die Synagog von Dura-Europos," Theologische Literaturzeitung (1958), 249-254.

century, evidences a density and richness of scriptural illustration far beyond that of the catacombs and sarcophagi.[5] Moreover, its iconography reflects the Talmud and other Jewish scriptural commentary, providing an indication to the possibility of early illustration of the Hebrew scriptures.[6] The recently discovered catacomb on the Via Latina in Rome, dated in the second quarter of the fourth century, contains a number of old Testament scenes whose iconography and aesthetic quality far exceeds that of the earlier-known catacombs.[7] The Brescia lipsanotheca and the Via Latina catacomb, reflecting a rich narrative tradition, and what we may infer of Paulinus' cycle at Nola,[8] thus serve an intermediary role between the symbolic language or hieroglyphs of Early Christian art and the otherwise sudden florescence of narrative cycles on a monumental scale in the second quarter of the fifth century.

But the explanation of the Santa Maria Maggiore mosaics as a narrative of the chosen people, even when it acknowledges the intrinsic prophetic content, is not enough. The nave cycle is not a simple illustration of the scriptural

[5] R. Delbrueck, Probleme der Lipsanothek in Brescia (Theophaneia 7) (Bonn, 1952).

[6] Ibid., 6 ff., 91 ff.

[7] A. Ferrua S.J., Le Pitture della Nuova Catacomba di Via Latina (Vatican City, 1960).

[8] See above, Chapter III, 51 ff.

narrative from Genesis 13 through Joshua 10. First, the order of the mosaics does not always correspond with that of the text. Second, certain portions of the text included between these bounds are entirely omitted, for instance, the Joseph story, a very popular medieval theme,[9] the long series of miracles and plagues Moses effected before Pharoah, Moses on Mt. Sinai, the incident with the Golden Calf, and some representative image of the detailed establishment of the law and ritual, as detailed in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Their absence suggests the intervention of a principle of selection which operated to exclude these parts of the narrative from the program. The fact that both apocryphal details and rabbinic details appear provides evidence that texts other than an illuminated Octateuch contributed to the making of either the model or the mosaics themselves.[10]

[9]In the Vienna Genesis, 48 miniatures are preserved, spanning the Fall of Adam and Eve through the death of Jacob; of these, 18 are devoted to the story of Joseph. Several Byzantine ivories contain his legend, e.g., the cathedra of Bishop Maximianus of Ravenna (Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, cat. no. 140), two pyxides, one in the Hermitage in Leningrad (ibid., cat. no. 191), and the other in Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin (ibid., cat. no. 172).

[10]Moses seated amidst the Egyptian wise is an apocryphal detail, see below, Appendix B, 233. The stoning of Moses, Caleb, and Joshua contains midrashic details according to C.-O. Nordström, "Rabbinica in frühchristlichen und byzantinischen Illustrationen zum 4 Buch Mose," Figura, new series 1 (1959), 28 ff.

A variation of the narrative approach views the mosaics as an heroic cycle. But this theory does not account for the choice of the five patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Joshua. What principle of selection chose these and excluded Aaron, Joseph, Phineas, David, and Solomon? Matthiae has proposed that the cycle may depend on a summary text, based on the narrative, but synthetic.[11] This is a happy theory, but has not yet been substantiated by the discovery of such a text.[12]

An advance toward rationalizing the Christian use of Old Testament stories and figures is provided by typological interpretation. This approach reveals the first as all too elementary: the nave cycle is not a pure scriptural illustration because of its emphasis on the Christ-like figures and its allusions to Christian sacraments and mysteries. Following the typological interpretation, the cycle was composed from the Bible with a principle of selection working to demonstrate the harmony between the two testaments,

[11] Matthiae, Mosaici Medioevali, 108 ff.

[12] See above, Chapter III, 54, note 34. These prayers and summaries are never as restricted in span nor as densely illustrated as is the Santa Maria Maggiore cycle in relation to the biblical source. Likewise the elegies on famous men, such as that in Ecclesiasticus, differ in their approach. The span in Ecclesiasticus is once again greater, including Noah, Enoch, Aaron, and Phineas; the detail invoked in praise is not consistently narrative. Though the Santa Maria Maggiore cycle does not show all the treacheries its heroes were involved in, it does include episodes which were both unpraiseworthy and unheroic, i.e., the Hemor and Schechem events.

the identity of the God of the two testaments, Christ's existence prior to the Incarnation, and the christological, spiritual, and sacramental prefigurations and antetypes contained in the Old Testament.

The typological approach to the Old Testament is popular, venerable, and founded on good authority. Already in the Gospels, two of the varieties of typological exegesis were inaugurated. Matthew demonstrates the harmony of the events of Christ's life with Old Testament figures and prophecies, thus initiating a christological typology. John, on the other hand, develops the sacramental species by adducing Old Testament prophecies of the Christian sacraments. Soon after Paul contributed a spiritual typology, relating Old Testament figures to the progress of the Christian soul. A fourth species, eschatological, reached its peak in the third century, drawing from the Old Testament veiled figures of the end of the world and the second coming.[13]

Each of these methods permitted the Christians to use the Old Testament and to use it selectively and critically.

[13] J. Daniélou, a scholar of patristic literature, systemized typological writings into these four categories, christological, sacramental, spiritual, and eschatological, "Les divers sens de l'Écriture dans la Tradition Chrétienne Primitive," Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses 24 (1948), 119 ff. Later, in another work he traced the development of the typologies of several themes from Genesis, Exodus, and Joshua from the New Testament through the late fourth century, Les figures du Christ dans l'Ancien Testament: Sacramentum Futuri (henceforth Sacramentum Futuri)(Paris, 1950), passim, esp. xi ff., for a brief survey of the historical development of different types of typology.

By regarding the Old Testament and the Levitical order as a type or an imperfect version of the reality and truth that the coming of Christ inaugurated, the Christians were able to avoid the formalisms and strictures of the old order, justify their innovations, authenticate their Messiah and gain a venerable and divinely-sponsored antiquity. They adopted the Old Testament and the history of God's Elect as their own, but established an independent position in respect to the text, the law, and the people. According to Augustine, they replaced the old covenant of the law with that foretold by Jeremiah. Though they regarded the Old Testament as authoritative, they felt no necessity to continue its ordinances. They explained this interruption of observances not as a condemnation of these things, but as a sign that they had been fulfilled.[14] 〉

Typological exegesis is found in all forms and levels

[14]Augustine, using the authority of Jeremiah, Contra Faustum 32.9 (C.S.E.L. 25.6.1, ed. J. Zycha (Vienna, 1891), 767 f.). His evaluation of the authority of scriptures involves a circular argument: "usque adeo nihil credi voluit adversus confirmatam scripturarum auctoritatem, quae fidem suam rebus ipsis probat, quae per temporum successiones haec inpleri et effici ostendit, quae tanto antequam fierent, praenuntiavit," Contra Faustum 13.5 (C.S.E.L. 25.6.1, 383). Later, he qualifies the Orthodox acceptance of the Old Testament: "cum ergo tale aliquid legitur in instrumento veteris testamenti, quale a nobis observari vel iussum non est in novo testamento vel etiam prohibitum, quid significet quaerendum est, non reprehendendum, quia eo ipso, quo iam non observatur, non damnatum, sed inpletum probatur," Contra Faustum 32.9 (C.S.E.L. 25.6.1, 768).

of Christian writing in the early centuries. At a high level schools arose which practiced varieties of scriptural interpretation almost for the sheer but zealous joy of it,[15] while at a lesser level, the Old Testament was reduced to an index of Christian allegories and moral attitudes[16] and to the stuff for religious poems[17] and picture galleries.[18]

The typological references in the panels of the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore are many and various. On a sacramental level, one may cite the Eucharistic symbolism of the Melchisedech incident and the Rain of Quails, the Baptismal symbolism of the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Waters of Marah. On a mystical or spiritual level, there are the typologies of the Rahab scenes, Moses at Rephidim standing in a crucifixion pose, the mystical name, Ἰησοῦς. Christological antetypes include the pastoral scenes of the patriarchs, Moses among the philosophers, the persecution of Moses, and the sacrifice of Isaac.[19] The Fall of Jericho is

[15]For example, the Alexandrian school, with Philo, Origen, Clement, Didymus, see Daniélou, "Les divers sens . . .," passim.

[16]Eg., Isidore of Seville, Allegoriae Quaedam Scripturae Sacrae (M.P.L. 83, 97 ff.).

[17]Eg., Prudentius, Dittochaeon, passim (Loeb, II, 346 ff.).

[18]Eg., Rusticus Helpidius, typological verses, J. Schlosser, Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte (Vienna, 1896), VII, 34 ff.

[19]This survey includes some of the suggested restorations of lost panels, see below, Chapter IV, 83 ff.

an eschatological type. Leah and Rachel, the dominance of Isaac over Esau, and the Separation of Abraham and Lot present general references to Christian truths. A typological demonstration of one sort or another thus characterizes a large majority of the nave panels.

Karl Schefold took the various larger and a plethora of smaller typologies in hand and tried to form of them a comprehensive program.[20] He imposed a numerical skeleton on the nave panels, identifying on each wall three triads of seven scenes, with several thematic correspondences shooting across the nave. The triads had contentual unity and geographical distinctness. On the left side, the first seven scenes presenting episodes in the lives of Abraham and Isaac form a unit and take place in the Promised Land. The second seven, with the marriages of Jacob, feature his life in Mesopotamia, while the last triad illustrates the wanderings of his later life. On the opposite wall, the first set relates the history of Moses up to and including the Crossing of the Red Sea, the middle series presents events in the wilderness and along the Jordan, while the sixth and last triad depicts the reconquering of the Promised Land. Schefold believes an emphasis was placed on the first, fourth, and seventh positions in each triad, as well as on the tenth,

[20]Schefold, "Altchristliche Bilderzyklen," 298 ff.

eleventh, and twelfth panels on the right wall. He tried to relate these positions to the full-field panel compositions. If it worked, this theory would explain the diversity of panel type as well as the selection of material. But Schefold was obliged to suggest a shift in the actual positions occupied by several registers and whole panels in order to prove his theory.[21] Because this suggestion cannot be sustained, the tenability of his thesis is weakened.

Despite its many typologies, the program of the nave mosaics is not typological. This is evident for two reasons: typologies are not found in each register, nor are all the possible instances of typology within the narrative limits of the cycle presented. The following panels, to this writer's knowledge, have no typological value, other than the lexicographic allegories of their protagonists: Jacob arriving at Laban's, Jacob communicating to his wives the divine command, the several scenes with Hemor and Schechem, Moses' marriage to Sephora, Moses sending spies to Canaan, Moses' messengers and the King of Edom, the mission of the Gibeonite messengers, the Hail of Stones, Joshua causing the Amorites to flee and Joshua and the five kings.[22] And last,

[21] Ibid., 309. It fails because the panels of the right are bound with the wall and occupy their original positions.

[22] Daniélou writes on the authority of Paul and Origen that the battles of Joshua are a type of the continual struggle of the soul against evil forces, Sacramentum Futuri, 254 f.

events and scenic detail, rich in prophecy and symbolism, included with the textual limits, have been omitted from the cycle, e.g., the Serpent in the Wilderness, water from the rock, the twelve streams at Elim, Manna from heaven, and the plague causing death to the Egyptian first-born.

B. The Protagonist, Abraham

In general, the cycle of mosaics at Santa Maria Maggiore is narrative, heroic, and typological. But those panels which do not conform to these qualities and those parts of the scriptural narrative which failed to enter the cycle indicate that this type of definition is lacking in specificity and subtlety. The mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore contain undeniable typological material, but typology is not their ultimate demonstration. It is by grace of a greater purpose and a more explicit program that the mosaics have a rich typological content.

Our task is then to determine a program which is basically narrative, in which the prophetic figures and events of the Old Testament play a major role, and which accommodates the christological iconography of the arch. Further, we may expect the determination of the program to reflect the circumstances which accounted for the novel decision to illuminate the walls of a Christian basilica. By assessing the role of one of the cycle's protagonists in Christian patristic literature a more subtle appreciation of the meaning of the scenes in which he figures may emerge. This, in

turn, may provide the interpretative context for the remainder of the mosaics.

We begin with the patriarch Abraham, with whom the nave cycle commences. He is blessed by Melchisedech, an Old Testament figure of Christ. He who was priest-king and without generation (Hebrews 7), offers bread and wine, the eucharistic elements, to Abraham, in thanks for his recent military exploit. This blessing of Abraham is given particular emphasis for it has been excised from its narrative sequence to initiate the cycle. That the Old Testament cycle commences with a Christ-figure's benediction of Abraham reflects the patriarch's special reverence within Christian circles.

The book of Genesis narrates how Abraham was chosen by God to be the father of his own people in a land which God gives to him and his descendants forever. The Lord blesses and protects Abraham, watching over him and conversing with him in the many years between their first contact in Chaldea through the birth and near-sacrifice of his son and heir, Isaac. Abraham was the first human to have had an intimate, prolonged, and reciprocal relationship with the deity.

In Christian contexts, Abraham redominates over the other patriarchs by virtue of this primary relationship, the example of his faith and the descent of Christ from his seed. His name gained greater esteem in the theology of Paul. In

broadening the appeal of Christ and avoiding the Levitical order, Paul formulated the concept of the two progenies of Abraham, the two lines of humanity who would respond to the call of Christ. The Jews who recognized Christ as the Messiah formed the Ecclesia ex Circumcisione; the Gentiles, converted from paganism and idolatry to the true religion, constitute the Ecclesia ex Gentibus. Abraham is the father of each line: by physical descent, the Ecclesia ex Circumcisione is his children, as are by faith the Gentiles:

> . . . it is men of faith who are the sons of Abraham. And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, "In you shall all the nations be blessed." So then, those who are men of faith are blessed with Abraham who had faith.
>
> Galatians 3.7-9

A second distinction of Abraham's progeny was contained in the allegorical juxtaposition of Hagar and Sarah, the first symbolizing Mount Sinai and present-day Jerusalem, the second, heavenly Jerusalem. According to Paul, Ishmael, the son of Hagar, was born according to the flesh and into slavery, while Isaac, the son of Sarah, was born according to the spirit and free (Galatians 4.22-29).

Christians, "like Isaac, are children of promise," (Galatians 4.28), and Christians, like Isaac, are the heirs of Abraham to the divine blessings contained in the promises made by God to Abraham. The importance of these promises is pre-eminent, for Paul sees in them explicit christological

reference. Christ is viewed as the fulfillment of the divine promise to Abraham:

> Now the promises were made to Abraham and to his offspring. It does not say "And to offsprings," referring to many; but, referring to one, "And to your offspring," which is Christ.
> Galatians 3.16

Matthew counted Christ a carnal descendent of Abraham, but to Paul, Abraham is the father of the Child of Promise.

With these evaluations of Abraham and his relation to the Christ child, we are approaching an understanding of the physical juxtaposition of the Abraham cycle of the nave and the infancy cycle of the arch of Santa Maria Maggiore. But let us continue with a look into patristic literature.

Abraham, in his role as the father of a people and the bearer of divine promise, stood at the head of Christian and Hebrew history as constructed in the chronicles of Jerome and Prosper.[23] Likewise in Augustine's writings, Abraham is

[23]For the Hebrew year 75, the chronicle reads: "Primus annus repromissionis dei ad Abraham. Abraham cum LXXV esset annorum, divino dignus habetur adloquio et ea repromissione, quae ad eum facta est." Every decade of the promise is then marked until the 430th year when Moses receives the Law at Sinai: "A LXXV anno Abraham usque ad Moysen et egressum ex Aegypto gentis Hebraeorum supputantur anni CCCCXXX, quorum meminit Paulus ita dicens: 'testamentum confirmatum a Deo, quae post CCCC et XXX annos facta est, lex non infirmat ad destruendam repromissionem' . . ." (R. Helm, ed., Die Chronik des Hieronymus, G.C.S., 47, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1956), 23a, 23b). Prosper of Aquitaine similarly notes for this event: "Qui cum esset annorum LXXV, divino monetur alloquio, ut exeat de terra sua et de domo patris sui et transeat in terra Chanaan. Quo tempore promissio ad Abraham facta est, quod futurus esset gentium pater," (M.G.H., Auct. Ant. IX, Chron. Min., I, 386).

granted a pivotal position. According to him, the history of the world is divided into six ages marked by the dealings of God with man. The first age is from Adam to Noah, the second from Noah to Abraham, the third from Abraham to David, the fourth from David to the Babylonian captivity, the fifth from the Babylonian captivity to the birth of Christ, the sixth is now in progress, ending in the Last Judgment. Augustine so defined the stages of human history in his Contra Faustum, an anti-Manichean polemic dating to ca. 400.[24]

Later, writing De Civitate Dei contra Paganos in response to the pagan claim that the Christianization of Rome was directly responsible for the Gothic attack on that city in 410, Augustine refines his ordering of human history.[25] He maintains the schema of ages but distinguishes within them an essential dichotomy in the nature of two currents, one temporal, the other eternal, symbolically expressed by the image of cities, one of the wicked, the other of the just, one terrestrial, the other heavenly, one symbalized by Mount Sinai, the other by the heavenly Jerusalem. In the history of the heavenly city, that is, the City of God, Abraham marks a new era: "temporis . . . a quo sanctae

[24]Contra Faustum 12.8 (C.S.E.L. 25.6.1, 336).

[25]De Civitate Dei Contra Paganos, C.S.E.L. 40.5.1-2, ed. E. Hoffmann (Vienna, 1889-90).

successionis novus ordo contexitur," "for from this time the evidence for the city of God becomes more explicit, and there are clearer indications of divine promise which we now see fulfilled in Christ" (Civ. Dei 16.12).[26] The life of Abraham announces the coming of the heavenly city and initiates the series of prophecies of this eternal order. Abraham and his seed enact these prophecies; they, God's people, were

> in quo distincto a ceteris gentibus praefigurarentur et praenuntiarentur omnia, quae de civitate, cuius aeternum erit regnum, et de rege eius eodemque conditore Christo in Spiritu praevidebantur esse ventura . . .
>
> (Civ. Dei 15.8)[27]

Augustine's evaluation of Abraham contributes to a further understanding of the initiation of a pictorial cycle with this patriarch and his relevance to a Christian congregation. Abraham is not only the father of the Christians according to the spirit as we know from Paul, but his story and that of his people is a sacred and rich prophetic history of the Christian people and the City of God. In his lengthy exposition of the Genesis narrative, Augustine devotes considerable attention to Abraham. In particular, he takes pains to sort out the implications contained in the several addresses of

[26] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 150. The English translation is that of E. M. Sanford and W. M. Green, Loeb Classical Library, 5, 71.

[27] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 72.

God to Abraham,[28] expanding in these studies of the addresses the motif of promise found in Paul and in the chronicles.[29]

Augustine begins naturally enough with Genesis 12.1-3, the address of God at Haran. He attempts to resolve the relative dates, ages, and movements of Abraham and his father (Civ. Dei 16. 15). Then he undertaken an exposition of the words of God contained in this first interview under the chapter heading: "De ordine et qualitate promissionum Dei, quae ad Abraham factae sunt" (Civ. Dei 16. 16).[30] Augustine distinguishes two promises ("duas res promissas") in this address. First, the seed of Abraham shall possess the land of Canaan,

> unum scilicet, quod terram Chanaan possessurum fuerat semen eius, quod significatur, ubi dictum est: Vade in terram, quam tibi demonstravero, et faciam te in gentem magnam.[31]

The second and more important promise, according to Augustine, makes Abraham the father, not alone of the people of Israel, but of all who follow in the footsteps of his faith:

[28] Civ. Dei 16, Chapters 16, 18, 21, 23, and 26 are devoted to the promises and addresses.

[29] See above, Note 24.

[30] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 157.

[31] Ibid.

> pater est non unius gentis Israeliticae, sed omnium gentium, quae fidei eius vestigia consequuntur, quod promitti coepit his verbis: Et benedicentur in te omnes tribus terrae.[32]

In the second divine address, made after the wanderers had reached Canaan, the first promise is repeated: "To your descendants I will give this land" Genesis 12.7. In this case, Augustine defines the seed not only as that by which Abraham became the father of all nations, but only as that by which he is the father of the single Israelite nation, for it was by this seed that the land was occupied:

> Nihil hic de illo semine dictum est, in quo pater factus est omnium gentium, sed de illo solo, de quo pater est unius Israeliticae gentis; ab hoc enim semine terra illa possessa est.
> (Civ. Dei 16.18)[33]

In the third address of God, Genesis 13, Augustine senses a difference in content, and specifies a third promise, "de tertia promissione Dei, qua terram Chanaan Abrahae et semini eius in perpetuum pollicetur" (Civ. Dei 16.21).[34] For God said to Abraham

> Lift up your eyes, and look from the place where you now are, northward and southward and eastward and westward; for all the land which you see I will give to you and to your descendants forever. I will make your descendants as the dust of the earth; so that if one can count the dust of the earth, your descendants also can be counted.
> Genesis 13.14-16

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., 160.

[34] Ibid., 161.

In relation to the previous addresses, Augustine feels this one contains certain obscurities, but he concludes that the meaning of the text is that it is to the whole seed of Abraham that the promise of many descendants is made, meaning those descended from him not after the flesh but after the spirit:

> Proinde quia nam tantum gens Israelitica, sed universum semen Abrahae, ubi est et promissio non secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum plurium filiorum, congruentius harenae multitudini conparatur; potest hic intellegi utriusque rei facta promissio.
>
> (Civ. Dei 16.21)[35]

As a result of Genesis 17 in which God announces the covenant of the circumcision, affirms the terrestrial promise, changes the names of Abraham and Sarah, foretells the birth of Isaac, and draws a distinction between the futures of Ishmael and Isaac, Augustine may use the figures of these siblings to develop his concept of the children secundum carnem and secundum spiritum. With the help of Paul, Augustine terms Isaac the son of promise in whom grace rather than nature is betokened, since he is promised to an old man and a barren old woman (Civ. Dei 16.26). By virtue of this grace, Augustine sees in Isaac the promise of the calling of

[35] Ibid., 162 f. Then reversing this argument, he claims that since the Promised Land is presently occupied by Christians, that proves their descendancy from Abraham: "et universa terra illa cum a Christianis inhabitatur, etiam ipsum semen est Abrahae," ibid., 163.

the Gentiles, "hic apertiora promissa sunt de vocatione gentium in Isaac, id est in filio promissionis . . ."[36]

Later, as a result of his near sacrifice, Isaac becomes a type of Christ, and Abraham, willing to sacrifice his only son, a type of God the Father. Augustine bases this typology on a statement of Paul (sic) in the Epistle to the Hebrews:

> Sic intellectum est in epistula ad Hebraeos, et sic expositum. Fide, inquit, praecessit Abraham Isaac tentatus et unicum obtulit, qui promissiones suscepit, ad quem dictum est: In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen, cogitans quia et ex mortuis suscitare potest Deus. Proinde addidit: Pro hoc etiam eum et in similitudinem adduxit; cuius simulitudinem, nisi illius unde dicit apostolus: Qui proprio filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum?
> (Civ. Dei 16.32)[37]

Due to Abraham's obedience when called to offer up his son, God swore his terms with the patriarch, Genesis 22.16-18. This oath enforces for Augustine his belief in the promises:

> Hoc modo est illa de vocatione gentium in semine Abrahae post holocaustum, quo significatus est Christus, etiam iuratione Dei firmata promissio. Saepe enim promiserat, sed numquam iuraverat. Quid est autem Dei veri veracisque iuratio nisi promissi confirmatio et infidelium quaedam increpatio?
> (Civ. Dei 16.32)[38]

By simplifying and distilling Augustine's discussions of the promises contained in God's addresses, one produces

[36] Ibid., 173.

[37] Ibid., 182 f. Augustine credits this letter to Paul, "apostolus," an attribution no longer maintained.

[38] Ibid., 184.

three promises which to a certain extent interact. These promises may be termed "carnal," "terrestrial," and "spiritual." God assures Abraham that he shall have children in stating "I will make of you a nation" (Genesis 12.2), and "I will make your descendants as the dust of the earth" (Genesis 13.16). Abraham has two children, Ishmael and Isaac. The former is set aside by God; he is assured a progeny, but these will not share what God has in mind for Abraham's proper descendants, those counted through the seed of Isaac. Through Isaac, Abraham becomes a great nation, thus, the carnal promise is fulfilled. In the several reiterations of this first promise, God often includes the terrestrial promise, by which the land of Canaan is given Abraham and his posterity forever, for example, "To your descendants I will give this land" (Genesis 12.7).

The third promise, the spiritual promise, has two interpretations. The first is implied in the wording of the divine address: "I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing . . . . by you all the families of the earth shall bless themselves" (Genesis 12.2-3). The reason for blessing Abraham was for his role in the genesis of the human nature of Christ, a reason which receives further articulation as Augustine's commentary on Genesis and its prophecies continues. Isaac and Christ stand at the beginning and end of the fulfillment of the spiritual

promise.Isaac is the first Child of Promise; Christ is the perfection of the promise. Each is descended from Abraham according to the flesh, secundum carnem, but more important, they are heirs according to the promise or spirit, secundum repromissionem or spiritum. The second implication of this promise is that those who follow Abraham in faith are likewise his children, and thus the heirs to the promises and the divine benefits.

The fulfillment of the divine promises to Abraham and their perpetuation in the heir of each generation provides a leitmotif through Hebrew history. Augustine's concern to distinguish these promises and to demonstrate their intrinsic messianic content evidence the high value placed on these divine benefits and blessings.

C. The Iconography of the Nave Mosaics

The nave mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore in beginning with Abraham and in presenting prophetic and typological material reflect Augustine's assessment that with Abraham there appeared clearer indications of the City of God and the promise of Christ (Civ. Dei 16.12). One way of viewing the nave may then be as an illustration of the pre-history of the Christian people, that is, the City of God in its prophetic period. Confirmation of this is found in the theme of the three promises for they appear to underlie the subject matter of the three tessellated sections of Santa Maria

Maggiore, the left and right nave clerestoreys and the triumphal arch.

The left wall retains panels which run, according to biblical sequence, from Genesis 13 and the Separation of Abraham and Lot to Genesis 34 and a point in the history of Jacob. What thematically unites these panels is the illustration of the multiplication of Abraham, the chosen of God, into a distinct nation, by virtue of his son, grandsons, and many great-grandsons. The left clerestorey wall thus depicts the first stages of the fulfillment of the divine promise to Abraham that he would have descendants, in time amounting to nations, from which kings would come forth (Genesis 17.6).

The second promise, the Giving of the Promised Land to this people for their eternal possession, is figured on the opposite wall. The depiction of this promise is in three parts: the early history of Moses who initiated the return to the land of Canaan, the wilderness history, and the battles of Joshua to regain this land for the seed of Abraham, a hold, Augustine writes, not assured until the time of David and Solomon:

> Inpletum est autem per David et eius filium Salomonem, cuius regnum tanto, quanto promissum fuerat, spatio dilatatum est; universos quippe illos subdiderunt tributariosque fecerunt. Sic igitur in terra promissionis secundum carnem, hoc est in terra

> Chanaan, sub his regibus semen Abrahae fuerat constitutum, ut nihil deinde superesset, quo terrena illa Dei promissio conpleretur . . . usque ad mortalis huius saeculi terminum . . . si Domini Dei sui legibus oboediret. (Civ. Dei 17.2)[39]

Thus, the extant nave panels present the fulfillment of the two temporal promises made to Abraham, that for descendants and that for land. The incidents from the lives of five patriarchs gain a common denominator by virtue of this theme and the essence of the cycle can be more precisely defined in this manner than by a typological approach. For the theme and its textual source, De Civitate Dei, define both the extremes of the cycle and the choice of intermediary illustrative material. The cycle, presenting aspects of the history of the City of God, begins with Abraham with whom intimate divine sponsorship of human history was initiated. The cycle ends with Joshua who, in accomplishing the recapture of the Promised Land, fulfilled the temporal promises made to Abraham. Within the working out of these two promises, "the clearer indications of divine promise,"[40] the prophecies and shadows of Christian history, meaning and mystery, which Augustine often pauses to analyze in his commentary on the narrative, are illustrated by the typological

[39] Ibid., 184.

[40] See above, note 27.

content of many of the panels. Further, Augustine's selection of passages in the Old Testament for attention and commentary and his rejection of other passages seems to have operated, to a certain extent, as a principle of selection. This suggestion is prompted by a coincidence of subject matter treated and omitted in the Augustine text and the mosaic cycle in relation to the primary scriptural narrative. Although the mosaic cycle is not strictly dependent on the De Civitate Dei, there are enough correspondences to make possible the use of this text in the reconstruction of the subject matter of the missing panels. Let us begin with the left wall.

The first three panels depict three incidents in Abraham's life; they neither follow the biblical sequence of events nor one in De Civitate Dei. They are so arranged for programmatic emphasis, a point which will be dealt with more fully below. The next three panels, in bays four, five, and six, destroyed in the early seventeenth century, must have presented incidents in the life of Isaac.

The symbolism of Isaac in prophetic constructions is as great, if not greater, than that of any other Old Testament personage.[41] By virtue of his birth and the divine command to Abraham to sacrifice his son, Isaac ranks as the

[41] Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 97 ff.

Old Testament figure of Christ par excellence. Ambrose expressed this value:

> cum in eo dominicae generationis et passionis figura praecesserit, siquidem et sterilis anus ex promissione dei peperit eum, ut crederemus quod potens est deus facere, ut possit et virgo generare, et oblatus unicus et inmolandum, qui et patri non periret et inpleret sacrificium.[42]

Even in allegorical Jewish exegesis, such as that of Philo, Isaac outranks his father and son as "perfect virtue."[43]

It is natural, therefore, to expect a reflection of the several aspects of his typological role in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, that is, his birth, sacrifice, and marriage.[44] The birth was contained in the Hospitality of Mamre. The Sacrifice and Marriage themes must have filled the missing panels. Augustine is not without emphasis on the Sacrifice. In Civitate Dei 16.32, he stresses the symbolism of the scenic details, the importance of Abraham's faith, the relation of this event to the promise, and his sharing with God the willingness to sacrifice a son. I, therefore, propose that the Sacrifice, and perhaps the Setting out to the Sacrifice, were presented in the lost panels.

[42]Ambrose, De Isaac vel Anima, I.1 (C.S.E.L. 32.1, ed. C. Schenkl (Vienna, 1897), 641).

[43]Daniélou, quoting Philo, Sacramentum Futuri, 98, and then tracing the Philonic-allegorical interpretation of Isaac in Christian patristic literature through the time of Ambrose, ibid., 112-128.

[44]Ibid., 97 ff. on the various typologies of Isaac, which he reduces to three categories of birth, sacrifice, and marriage.

Next, incidents relative to the Marriage of Isaac may have filled a few registers, for the typologies are several and distinct. Augustine notes the significance of Genesis 24. 2, in which Abraham has his servant swear, prior to the latter's departure to seek a wife for Isaac

> Nec inmerito ipse Abraham, cum eius servus ei iurasset, sub femore suo iussit eum ponere manum, sciens inde venturam carnem Christi, in quo benedici omnes gentes non nunc praenuntiamus, sed quod tunc praenuntiatum est, nunc videmus. (Contra Faustum 12.41)[45]

This servant, Origen had written, symbolized prophecy, which sets out to find the Church (Rebecca) whom Christ (Isaac) is to wed.[46] Following the christological significance of Isaac, his marriage with Rebecca gained the meaning of the union of the Word and the Church.[47] Thus, scenes with the departure of the servant and a marriage are suggested in reconstruction.

Last, the twins born of this union, Jacob and Esau, are a pair to whom constant reference is made in patristic literature for their prophetic relationship to one another. Augustine devotes several chapters to their prototypal roles as "duae gentes, duo populi" (Genesis 25.23). Jacob, the

[45] C.S.E.L. 25.6.1, 367.

[46] Origen, In Genes., Homilien 10.2 (G.C.S. 29, ed. W. A. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1920), 95) and Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 123.

[47] Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 117. He also mentions Philo for whom Rebecca and Isaac had even more exalted roles in a moral allegory; for Philo the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca joins perfect virtue with wisdom, ibid., 116.

younger of the twins, gains precedence over Esau as the Christians will later over the Israelites. Their prophetic import is ultimately expressed in the extant seventh panel, the blessing of Isaac, which Augustine terms a proclamation of Christ:

> Benedictio igitur Iacob praedicatio est Christi in omnibus gentibus. Hoc fit, hoc agitur. (Civ. Dei 16.37)[48]

The twins' birth or Esau's sale of his birthright is, therefore, proposed in reconstructing the sixth panel.

The eighth panel is missing; it may have figured the incident in Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia (Genesis 28.10-19), in which he dreams of the heavenly ladder and later anoints the stones at the site. Both are discussed by Augustine (Civ. Dei 16.38). In the dream, God announced Himself to Jacob, assured him His protection, repeating to him the carnal and terrestrial promises first made to his grandfather. The eighth panel may then have depicted a dreaming Jacob in a full-field composition, or if divided into two registers, it may have contained the dream scene above and Jacob anointing the stones in the lower half, an incident whose typological significance Augustine does not fail to note: the anointing of the stones was not idolatrous,

[48] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 191.

> sed quoniam Christi nomen a chrismate est, id est ab unctione, profecto figuratum est hic aliquid, quod ad magnum pertineat sacramentum. (Civ. Dei 16.38)[49]

Panels nine to thirteen then depict Jacob's arrival at his uncle's, his marriages, career, and difficulties, a sequence terminating with the divine command that he should return to his native land. Augustine's account of these marriages is rapid and apologetic (Civ. Dei 16.38). Jacob's polygamy was naturally open to much criticism and derogatory comment. Christian defense emphasized the allegorical interpretation of Jacob's conjugal career; Augustine did the same in Contra Faustum.[50] There, and in De Civitate Dei, he presents Jacob as a passive husband who marries and procreates with all the women at their insistence.[51] Augustine does not dwell on Jacob's years with Laban, nor does he mention in De Civitate Dei the symbolic content of Jacob's servitude nor the separation of the sheep and goats. At this point, the cycle departs from the outline provided by Augustine, reverting to the primary biblical narrative.[52]

[49] Ibid., 194.

[50] Contra Faustum 22.47-58 (C.S.E.L. 25.6.1. 639 ff.; the paragraph 52, in particular, emphasizes the symbolic and allegorical aspects of the marriages and the women.

[51] Civ. Dei 16.38 (C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 194): "Nullam Iacob legitur petisse praeter unam, nec usus plurimus nisi gignendae prolis officio, coniugali iure servato, ut neque hoc faceret, nisi uxores eius id fieri flagitassent, quae corporis viri sui habebant legitimam potestem."

[52] For types of Jacob's servitude, see below, Appendix A, 222 ff.

There are two possible reconstructions for the missing fourteenth panel. It may have combined the departure of Jacob and his family with the pursuit and accusation of Laban that the family gods had been stolen (Genesis 31. 17 ff.). Or it may have contained the scene of Jacob wrestling with the angel (Genesis 32.24-30). This latter incident must surely have been pictured, either in the fourteenth or the sixteenth panel, for it is a very important incident in Jacob's life and in the history of the Chosen People, to which Augustine devoted a chapter. The symbolic meaning of Jacob's victory over the angel, he wrote

> significat passionem Christi, ubi visi sunt ei praevalere Iudaei. Et tamen benedictionem ab eodem angelo, quem superaverat, inpetravit; ac sic huius nominis [Israel] inpositio benedictio fuit.

The angel also made Jacob lame, having touched his thigh:

> Erat itaque unus adque idem Iacob et benedictus et claudus: benedictus in eis, qui in Christum ex eodem populo crediderunt, adque in infidelibus claudus.
>
> (Civ. Dei 16.39)[53]

If the match with the angel occupied the fourteenth position, then the sixteenth panel, following the meeting of Jacob and Esau, may have been of relevance to the last two preserved panels, seventeen and eighteen, which present in four registers the intermediate events in the story of the rape of Dinah and the revenge of the sons of Jacob.

[53] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 195.

This rather discreditable tale is neither very popular in patristic literature nor does it find mention in De Civitate Dei. The depiction of the rape of Dinah in the sixteenth panel would be somewhat exceptional to the general tone of the mosaic program in which incidents not complimentary to the Hebrew people are omitted, e.g., the Golden Calf of Exodus. Yet the revenge of the brothers upon Hemor, Schechem and their people makes little sense unless the reason for it, the rape of Dinah, is given. Therefore, it may be necessary to reconstruct this scene in panel sixteen.

Following the Hemor and Schechem incident, thirteen chapters of Genesis are devoted to Joseph. But after his brief report of Jacob's marriages, Augustine writes of this patriarch's migration to Egypt, skipping the whole Joseph narrative (Civ. Dei 16.38 ff.). Curiously enough, Augustine took no interest in Joseph or his career. This may be credited to the fact that Joseph does not number in the generations of Christ and is, therefore, of little consequence in the history of the City of God:

> Igitur propter populum Christianum, in quo Dei civitas peregrinatur in terris, si carnem Christi in Abrahae semine requiramus, remotis concubinarum filiis occurrit Isaac; si in semine Isaac, remoto Esau, qui est etiam Edom, occurrit Iacob, qui est et Israel; si in semine ipsius Israel, remotis ceteris occurrit Iudas, quia de tribu Iuda exortus est Christus.
>
> (Civ. Dei 16.41)[54]

[54] Ibid., 198.

On the basis of Augustine's interests, I suggest as the subject matter for the last three panels of the left wall the continuation of the history of Jacob, certainly the blessing of Judah by Jacob (Genesis 49.8-12) and possibly Jacob at Beth-el in communion with God (Genesis 35.1). Jacob in Egypt (Genesis 47 ff.), the blessing of Ephraim and Manassah (Genesis 48.12 ff.), another sibling pair of typological importance, or the death of Jacob, all subjects which Augustine comments upon in De Civitate Dei, 16.40-42.

The selection of material on the left wall thus presents the propagation of Abraham's line and the transmission of the blessing and promise granted this line through the covenant of promise. Augustine's discussion of the promise made to Abraham for a son and a posterity surely determined the theme of the clerestorey wall. Further the commentary Augustine undertook in De Civitate Dei 16 seems to have influenced the cycle's selection of individual incidents from Genesis illustrating the perfection of this first promise.

The relationship of the panels of the right wall to Augustine and De Civitate Dei is less explicit for Augustine devotes only a part of one chapter (16.43) to the Exodus narrative and to that of Joshua, skipping entirely several important parts of Exodus and all of Numbers, Leviticus and Deuteronomy. This brevity is, however, significant. Augustine summarizes Moses' career in less than a dozen

sentences, mentioning the most important details of the historical biography. He does not, however, develop the spiritual biography, or the christological/typological significance of Moses as he had done with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The only typological or prophetic commentary on an event in Moses' life is that devoted to a curious Paschal-Pentecostal interpretation of the Giving of the Law:

> Quod factum est, mox ut exitum est de Aegypto et in deserto populus esse coepit, quinquagensimo die post celebratum Pascha per ovis immolationem; qui usque adeo typus Christi est praenuntians eum per victimam passionis de hoc mundo transiturum ad Patrem (Pascha quippe Hebraea lingua transitus interpretatur), ut iam cum revelaretur testamentum novum, postea quam Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus, quinquagensimo die veniret de caelo Spiritus Sanctus, qui dictus est in evangelio digitus Dei, ut recordationem nostram in primi praefigurati facti memoriam revocaret, quia et legis illae tabulae digito Dei scriptae referuntur. (Civ. Dei 16.43)[55]

Loss of the panels on this side of the nave is limited to the first, fourth, fifth, sixth, twentieth, and twenty-first. Reconstruction, therefore, is not arduous. The first may have contained a nativity incident, possibly the finding of Moses in the bulrushes. The last two probably continued the strategems of Joshua.

Among several omissions from the Exodus narrative on the right wall there is a single and notable one whose

[55] Ibid., 201 f.

absence provides us with a still clearer appreciation of the program. The Giving of the Law to Moses on Mt. Sinai has not been depicted. It has been suggested that the first panel once contained this scene, but this position is difficult to maintain for several reasons. The first is a compositional consideration: though the biblical sequence of events has not been strictly followed throughout the nave cycle, never is a liberty taken comparable to the placement of the eleventh incident in the first slot. And further, though the Giving of the Law is of the utmost importance in the Old Testament and in Hebrew history, there is reason to believe it was not included in the mosaic cycle due to certain Christian attitudes toward the Law, expressed for example in Paul and Augustine. The same attitudes may have operated to exclude other parts of the Pentateuch narrative as well.

In Augustine's writings the implications of the word "law" are two. It is a general term for the Old Testament, the prophetical writings, in the sense used by Christ when he said, "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them" (Matthew 5.17). The second meaning of "law" for Augustine is that used by Paul; the "law" is those aspects of the Old Testament which have been made obsolete by the

coming of Christ.[56] The Law is now dead, the ordinances and institutions promoted in the "law" are to be discontinued. Paul constructed an antithesis between Abraham and Moses, between faith and law, Christians and Jews, grace and covenant. The "law" confined, obscures, yokes, veils. It was designed to keep an unruly people in check until the coming of grace:

> It was added because of the transgressions, till the offspring should come to whom the promise had been made . . . the law was our custodian until Christ came.
>
> Galatians 3.19, 24

Paul disavows the "law," the Levitical order and the ritual observances of the Hebrew people, returning to an ideal of the religion as it was before Moses and Aaron, in the time of the first patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This primitive religion was more congenial to Paul's interpretation of Christ's message. By his rejection of the "law," Paul was able to appeal for converts over the head of the Jewish establishment and beyond the bounds of the covenant of the law. He rejected those aspects of Judaism which repudiated and limited Christ and the apostolic mission. These rejected aspects seem to have been symbolized in the establishment of the covenant of God with Moses at Sinai which

[56] Contra Faustum 19, passim, for Augustine's response to Faustus' division of law and prophecy into types (C.S.E.L. 25.6.1, 496 ff.).

came 430 years after the promises were made to Abraham:

> . . . the law, which came four hundred and thirty years afterward, does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to make the promise void.
>
> Galatians 3.16-17

The mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, comprising a cycle of divine promises, then seem to have excerpted both the Mosaic covenant and what this covenant introduced into the life of the people. Yet the cycle does not end with the Giving of the Law because the fulfillment of promises made in the covenant with Abraham was still in progress. The cycle selects those incidents from the biblical narrative which are directly concerned with the fulfillment of the terrestrial promise, leaving aside the commemoration of the rituals, the establishment of the tabernacle and similar subjects, elements of the Mosaic covenant which Christ made obsolete and Paul rejected.

Instead of evaluating Moses as a law-giver, he is celebrated as the leader who brought the people of Israel out of bondage and he is applauded for having ceded leadership before reaching the Promised Land to Joshua, or Ἰησοῦς.[57] Last, the miracles and plagues Moses introduced in Egypt may

[57] Cf. A. Méhat, ed., Origène, Homélies sur les Nombres, S. Chrét. 29 (Paris, 1951), 12 f. In an introduction, Méhat contrasts the evaluations of the Exodus text in Philo and Origen. Philo concentrated on the Giving of the Law, while Origen placed emphasis on Moses' role as leader of the Exodus, minimizing his role as law-giver.

have been all but omitted for any of several reasons: their discreditable nature, their irrelevance to the active progress of the Exodus *per se*, and for a principle of distribution which required equal rights for Joshua.

De Civitate Dei and the theology of Augustine thus contribute to the mosaic cycle of Santa Maria Maggiore its program and many of its individual parts. But they do not provide the answer to the problem of the distribution of the scenes and the non-biblical sequence. Of the remaining twenty-seven panels, three are devoted to Abraham, one to Isaac, eight to Jacob, seven and a half to Moses, and a like number to Joshua. With Eclissi's help, three more may be added to Moses. The present reconstruction suggestions would add three scenes of Isaac, shared with his father and son, six to Jacob, one to Moses, and two to Joshua, totaling three Abraham, four Isaac, fourteen Jacob, eleven and a half Moses, and nine and a half Joshua scenes. Schefold's schema of triads by geographical or topological criteria may help explain this distribution and apparent weighting of Jacob and Joshua.[58] The three-promise theory may also explain the distribution. To Abraham, the promises were made whose fulfillment begins on either nave wall and on the triumphal arch. Jacob predominates on the left wall for he made the

[58]See above, 67 ff.

greatest contribution to the fulfillment of the carnal promise, fathering twelve children, the patriarchs of the twelve tribes. Moses, despite his historical importance predominates only slightly over Joshua. Considering the repetitive content and limited material for the secondary typological theme in the many battle scenes, the number of panels alloted Joshua may be questioned. The answer lies in the theme of the wall, the terrestrial promise. Moses initiated the return, but Joshua accomplished it, recapturing the land promised Abraham.

The problems of sequence are not as easily resolved. Those sections which are out of narrative order are the first three on the left, two in the reconstructed Jacob cycle, two in that of Moses, and two in that of Joshua. The Jacob shuffling involves the panels depicting the reunion of the brothers and one, either before or after it, depicting Jacob wrestling with the angel. In the narrative, this incident intercedes between the arrival of Jacob's envoys at Esau's camp and the reunion scene. The importance of the reconstructed scene, a theophany, may have merited it a whole panel, thus requiring a non-sequential presentation of the events allied to it.

The misordering of the Moses cycle may be explained as follows. The recounting of the Israelites' years in the wilderness is to be found in both Exodus and Numbers. The sequence of events is often contradicted between the accounts

or an event entirely omitted from one. For example, the Edom incident was not reported in Exodus. What appears to have happened in the nave cycle is that the two water miracles--Marah and Mt. Horeb--have been conflated into a single image and then an event which follows the Miracle at Mt. Horeb in the Numbers text has been imported into the mosaic cycle following the water miracle. The Horeb incident precedes Rephidim in Exodus 17 and precedes the Edom incident in Numbers 20. The common Horeb incident may therefore have helped to import the Edom incident into what had been up to them an exclusively Exodus narration. As a result of this importation, a Numbers 20 incident occupies a position in the cycle prior to that of several incidents from Numbers 13 and 14, namely the Mission of the Spies and the Stoning of Moses, Caleb, and Joshua. A simplification of the narrative or a conflation of the accounts would thus seem to explain the irregularities in the Moses' cycle.

The first three panels on the left wall are out of order: the sequence of scenes--Abraham and Melchisedech, Abraham and the three angels and the Separation--are in a two-three-one order. It may be argued that the motivation behind rearrangement was a programmatic emphasis. The first two scenes are of greater significance than the third, therefore, they take the first two positions on the wall. In particular, such a significance may be assigned to the first panel in which Abraham is blessed by a figure of Christ, evidencing the pre-

existent Logos. The presence of Melchisedech-Christ in the first panel and the meaning of the panel per se serve as a physical and contentual link between the Old Testament cycle of the nave and the christological decoration of the arch.[59]

In conclusion, the theme of promises to Abraham, elaborated by Augustine in De Civitate Dei, makes of each file of mosaic panels an integral unit and provides the pictorial decoration of the nave as a whole with an intrinsic coherence. This theme provides, moreover, an explanation for the choice of the extremes of the cycle, that is Genesis 12 and Joshua 10, an explanation that neither the narrative nor typological approaches to the program can provide. Further, the source of the theme, De Civitate Dei 16, seems to have influenced the choice of the intermediate illustrations of the cycle. Augustine's scriptural commentaries display a striking correspondence with the mosaics of the nave in terms of the choice and rejection of material from the primary biblical narrative. This coincidence urges the consideration that De Civitate Dei, complemented by an Augustinian approach to Scriptures, operated as the principle of selection in determining the subject matter of the individual panels, in particular the prophetic and typological demonstrations, contained within the promise theme.

Moreover, this theme intrinsically contains a messianic

[59]Cecchelli suggests that the Melchisedech panel with its eucharistic content is placed in the first position to be near the altar, Mosaici, 94.

factor, which, as we shall see, accommodates the iconography of the triumphal arch. Interpreted in this way, the three physically distinct areas of mosaic decoration demonstrate a programmatic unity, an achievement failing in other approaches to the iconography of the mosaics.

CHAPTER V

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ARCH

The third divine promise made to Abraham, that which in Augustine's interpretation is the messianic promise, is figured on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in the coming of Christ. With the Incarnation and Epiphany, the career of Christ begins and the spiritual promise to Abraham is perfected.

The arch in its traditional interpretation can accommodate this theme. But the text and author from which the theme derives also suggest new interpretations of several scenes and figures, which, if acceptable, would free the arch of several of its enigmatic details and join the nave and arch in an even greater programmatic coherence. Therefore, it is necessary to present a scrutinizing study of both the physical condition of the arch and the Ephesus iconography to demonstrate the poor foundations on which the traditional interpretation lodges.

A. The Traditionally Accepted Iconography of the Arch and Its Failings

As a result of the inscription, XYSTVS EPISCOPVS PLEBI DEI, on the top of the arch, scholars have attributed to the

arch mosaic a theme and a program based on contemporary ecclesiastical events. The pontificate of Sixtus followed immediately on the Council of Ephesus; thus the mosaics are often construed to reflect the Orthodox dogma triumphant at Ephesus.[1] This council, the third ecumenical council, was convoked by Theodosius II for Pentecost 431 to deal with the dispute between Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria.[2] The crisis was another christological controversy. Nestorius and his followers refused to accept the orthodox concept of the union of the two natures of Christ, the human and divine, in one person, and the concommitant status of Mary as Theotokos, that is, Mother of God. Nestorius would not accept the mystery of the Logos made flesh or joined to flesh in the womb of Mary. He denied the divine nature of Christ could be born of human flesh, or later suffer crucifixion and death.[3] The Nestorians limited

[1] Ciampini began this tradition in his Vetera Monimenta, 205 ff. It persists in the most recent publications on the arch, Brodsky, "L'Iconographie oubliée . . .," passim, and P. Goubert, "L'Arc Éphésien de Sainte-Marie Majeure et les évangiles apocryphes," Mélanges Eugène Tisserant II.1 (Studi e Testi 232) (Vatican City, 1964), 187 ff.

[2] P. Labbé and G. Cossart, Concilia (Paris, 1671), III, passim; Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, II, 141 ff.; E. Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums (Tübingen, 1930), I, 389 ff.; M. Jugie, "Éphèse, Concile d'," D.T.C. V.1, 137 ff.

[3] See the letter of Cyril to Nestorius in which the one patriarch amplifies to the other the Nicaean creed and expresses the Orthodox view of the nature of the union of Christ's natures and his birth (Labbé and Cossart, Concilia, III, 315 ff., M.P.G. 77, 43 ff.). A second letter, also

to Mary the bearing of the human element and granted her the title Christotokos. The Council upheld the definition of the Incarnation supplied by Cyril, based on Scripture, the Nicaean Creed and the testimony of the Fathers, among whom the term Theotokos was not unknown.[4] The tenets of Nestorius were anathematized and the heretics were excommunicated.

Many writers, perhaps a predominant number, see in the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore the Orthodox dogma proclaimed at Ephesus.[5] They thus account the scenes a demonstration of Christ's divinity in his first years, illustrations serving to confute Nestorius' claim that he could not acknowledge the divinity in an infant or youth:

---

written prior to the Council defines again the Incarnation (Labbé and Cossart, Concilia, III, 395; M.P.G. 77, 105 ff.). Further, the first three of the twelve anathematisms Cyril penned for Nestorius present most clearly and concisely the doctrine the latter denounced (Labbé and Cossart, Concilia, 408 ff.; M.P.G. 77, 119 ff.). For a general survey of the literature, cf. Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, II, 149 ff.

[4]Cf. Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, II, 147 ff.

[5]In addition to Ciampini, Brodsky, and Goubert (see above, note 1), cf. F. Bianchini, Dissertatio secunda De Musivis a Xysto Papa III. collocatis in amplificatione Basilicae Liberianae, post Oecumenicam Synodum Ephesinam (Rome, 1728) (M.P.L. 128, 263 ff.), P. Sisto Scaglia, I Mosaici Antichi della Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore in Roma (Rome, 1910), 11 ff.; Wilpert, RMM, I, 473 ff.; and ibid., "La proclamazione Efesina e i mosaici della basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore," Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia 7 (1931), 203 ff.; G. Biasiotti, "L'arco trionfale di Santa Maria Maggiore in Roma," B.d.A. 8 (1914), 73 ff.; and Wellen, Theotokos, 98 ff.

"Et cum plurimi deum confiteantur esse Issum: 'Ego,' inquit Nestorius, 'bimenstrem et trimenstrem nequaquam confiteor deum.'"[6] Mary, the Theotokos, appears in regal attire fitting to the mother of Χριστός βασιλεύς.

Another effect of the Council of Ephesus perceived in the iconography of the arch is that relative to the status of the See of Rome.[7] Prior to the Council, the dispute was brought to the attention of Pope Celestine in letters addressed to him by the protagonists.[8] Celestine took swift and severe action. He convoked a Roman synod which determined that Cyril held the Orthodox thesis. He ordered Nestorius to denounce his errors immediately or submit to a prosecution, with which Celestine entrusted Nestorius' adversary, Cyril. Celestine saw no need for an ecumenical council and once one was convoked perceived its role as that of executor of his will.[9] Neither objecting to Celestine's legate's claims of Roman primacy based on descent from Peter, nor to the content of the papal order in reference to Nestorius which the legate presented to it, the Council gave approval to the Pope's

[6]Socrates, Historia Ecclesiasticae 12.5 (C.S.E.L. 71, ed., W. Jacob and R. Hanslik (Vienna, 1952), 670).

[7]Grabar and Brodsky see this in their respective works, L'Empereur . . ., 215 ff., and "L'Iconographie oubliée . . .," 1966, 67 ff.

[8]Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, II, 164 ff.; Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums, 391 ff., D.T.C. V.1, 155 ff.

[9]D.T.C. V.1, 155.

assumption of Primacy for the See of Rome and to his stature as chief arbiter in matters of faith and dogma.[10] Following the close of the Council and the death of Celestine, Sixtus in the name of Roman See maintained an active offensive in ridding the Church of the persisting difficulties with the Nestorians.[11]

Grabar, while maintaining the traditional identification of the scenes and figures, interpreted a sub-theme of the eternity of Christian Rome.[12] By the adaptation of Roman imperial compositional and iconographic motifs, the Christian themes were given both a universal and a specific twist. For instance, in the Presentation scene, Grabar unravelled the following elements: the temple represented is that of Venus and Roma, the Templum Urbis, a symbol of eternal Rome, on the pediment of which is a statue of Dea Roma (fig. 54). In the thousand year celebration of Rome, in 248, under Philip the Arab, who was possibly a Christian, coins were issued showing a tripartite sacrifice before the Templum Urbis, a rare compositional schema, which Grabar saw mirrored

[10] Ibid., 156 ff.

[11] Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums, 418 ff., as did later Leo, cf. P. Batiffol, "Léon Ier," D.T.C. IX.1, 221 ff.

[12] Grabar, L'Empereur . . ., 215 ff. Cf. also J. Gagé, "Le 'templum urbis' et les origines de l'idée de 'Renovatio,'" Mélanges Franz Cumont (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientale et Slaves 4)(1936), 151 ff., esp. 170 ff.

in the tripartite Presentation grouping, Mary and child, Anna and Joseph, and Simeon (fig. 33). The two themes of this anniversary were the eternity of Rome and the beginning of a new saeculum. In the 430s and 440s, revived from the shock of barbarian invasions and the slow decay which had set in with the Tetrarchy and was compounded by the transfer of the seat of the Empire to Constantinople, Rome began to reclaim her title as caput mundi, the capital of God on earth. Grabar credited this revival to Leo the Great, who, though he did not assume the papacy until 440, was influential in the 430s as Sixtus' archdeacon. Thus, the Presentation of Christ and his recognition by priests before the Templum Urbis signals the commencement of the new Christian Rome, and her saeculum, which will be eternal.

One of the peculiarities of ~~the~~ program of the arch is the selection of scenes. It is an infancy cycle lacking the Nativity. Several scenes, traditional parts of christological programs, such as the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi, present unusual iconography and compositions, while others, supposedly based on apocryphal accounts, such as the Aphrodisias incident, are without parallel in Christian art. In addition, the sequence of scenes is neither narrative nor chronological; note in zones two and three the sequence of scenes involving the Magi and Herod.

Grabar, again, partially solved the problem of selection

and sequence.[13] He recognized on the arch the same thematic unity within the zones and a hierarchy of zones that had appeared earlier on the sculptured reliefs of imperial triumphal arches and monumental pedestals which also operate on a zoned construction.[14] He was thus able to identify the larger themes to which the otherwise inexplicable selection of scenes contribute. Thus, the first and uppermost zone is interpreted as the Recognition of the Saviour by the Chosen People, represented by the figures of Anna, Simeon, and the priests of Jerusalem. The middle zone portrays the recognition by the Gentiles, in the persons of the Magi and Aphrodisias, who voluntarily accede to Christ's Messiahship. The lowest figurative zone demonstrates the powerlessness of those who will not acknowledge the divinity of Christ, stated in terms of Herod's frustrated persecution.[15] Further, he determined that the unusual composition of several scenes reflects imperial iconography, for instance, the above-mentioned tri-partite Presentation is based on a third century

[13] Ibid., 212 ff.

[14] For example, the arch of Galerius at Salonika (Volbach, Kunst, pls. 2 ff.), and the bases of the spiral column of Arcadius (Kollwitz, Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit (Berlin, 1941), pl. 3/4) and the obelisk of Theodosius erected in Constantinople (Volbach, Kunst, pls. 54 ff.).

[15] Grabar writes of this zoning: "C'est là l'ordre habituel des représentations du pouvoir imperial, dans l'iconographie officielle du même temps: au-dessus--adoration de l'empereur par les ὁμοφύλοι . . ., au-dessous, soumission des reges et gentes s'inclinant devant le souverain . . ., ou vaincus par ses armes," L'Empereur . . ., 214.

numismatic device, the Aphrodisias scene is based on Adventus iconography, while the star of the Epiphany may be taken both as the star of Bethlehem and the star which appears above emperors in imperial iconography, symbolizing their divinity. Last, the two women flanking the throne in the same scene may be compared to personifications of Roma and Constantinople in Byzantine ivory work.[16]

The major criticisms one can voice about the inadequacy of the earlier theses and the Ephesine interpretation, in particular, are the lack of due criticism of the condition and style of the arch, the failure to identify acceptably several of the protagonists, and the inclusion of apocryphal incidents in the program. As a result of uncritical observation, vastly different styles, which are the result of restorations, have been overlooked. Certain figures--those of Joseph--have been accepted as integral, thus leading to errors in understanding the scenes and arch as a whole. A second pitfall of uncritical scrutiny has permitted the figures of two women who each appear several times to be inconsistently and improperly identified. Their proper identification has rarely been proposed.[17]

As has been briefly noted in the identification of the scenes, the content of the arch is not strictly derived from

[16] Ibid., 227 f.

[17] Brodsky makes the amenable proposition, "L'Iconographie oubliée . . .," 1966, 49 ff.

canonical infancy narratives. Instead, several apocryphal gospels and legends are normally adduced as the sources of certain scenes and details.[18] For instance, the handiwork of Mary in the Annunciation has been identified with her task of weaving the purple veil for the temple, an act in the midst of which she received the angelic message. This is reported in two apocryphal gospels, the Protoevangelium of James,[19] and the Liber de Ortu Beatae Mariae et Infantia Salvatoris of Pseudo-Matthew.[20] Likewise, Pseudo-Matthew relates the Adventus of Aphrodisias to meet the Christ-child: while in Egypt, to which the Holy Family had fled, they passed through the town of Sotine, near Hermapolis. The presence of the child caused the idols in its temples to fall. The Roman governor, Aphrodisias, hearing of this, came to meet and adore the Christ child, recommending His worship to his priests and army.[21]

Despite the attractions of these apocryphal texts and their apparent accord with the scenes on the arch, it is highly unlikely that in a monument decorated by papal patronage apocryphal accounts should play such a role. They

[18]Among those who identify apocryphal material are Kondakov, Wilpert, Biasiotti, Berchem and Clouzot, DeBruyne, Grabar, Weis, Künzle, Goubert and Matthiae, Brodsky has challenged this usage, "L'Iconographie oubliée . . .," 1966, 26.

[19]Cap. x-xii (Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, 20 ff.).

[20]Cap. viii-ix (ibid., 66 ff.).

[21]Cap. xxii-xxiv (ibid., 89-92).

had been condemned in the early fifth century by Pope Innocent, who declared the various apocrypha "non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda."[22]

The textural source for the iconography of the arch cannot, therefore, lie in an apocryphal text. The scenes and figures believed to reflect this influence have been misidentified, that is, the Annunciations to Mary and Joseph and the Aphrodisias scene. If the iconography departs from the accounts of Luke and Matthew and the sequence of scenes is not narrative, these factors may be the result of a program which is neither scriptural nor apocryphal in origin, but exegetical in intention.

Several scholars have raised objections to the Ephesus interpretation.[23] It has long been noticed that the Virgin does not, other than in the Annunciation, hold a central position in the various scenes in which she partakes. She

[22]Innocent wrote in an epistle (his sixth) to Exuperius of Toulouse: "Caetera autem, quae vel sub nomine Matthiae sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Joannis, quae a quondam Leucio scripta sunt . . . vel sub nomine Thomae, et si qua sunt alia, non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda," M.P.L. 20, 502.

[23]For example, P. Toesca, Storia dell'arte italiana (Turin, 1927), I, 231, note 28; Bertelli, La Madonna di S. Maria in Trastevere, 48 ff.; DeBruyne, "Nouve ricerche iconografiche . . ." passim; Berchem and Clouzot do not agree with the Theotokos theme, noting Mary's minor role, Mosaiques Chretiennes, 57, nor does Grabar, except in the Presentation scene, L'Empereur . . ., 219, note 1; nor Richter and Taylor, The Golden Age, 390.

is always to the side of Christ. In the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi, Mary is usually presented enthroned and holding the child on her lap (fig. 55).[24] On the arch, the child occupies the throne alone (fig. 47). His mother is relegated to a lateral position and paired with a notoriously anonymous woman. Furthermore, the principle mystery by which Mary claimed the title Theotokos is not presented on the arch, that is, the Nativity. The compositional center of nearly all the scenes--the Presentation, Epiphany, Aphrodisias--is the Christ-child. In the three scenes in which He does not physically appear, He is the thematic center. The Christ-child, not the Theotokos, dominates the arch.

[24]See, for example, the following early examples of the Visit of the Magi in which the Virgin is enthroned with the child on her lap, with the Magi approaching from one side or flanking the throne in a centralized composition: in the catacomb of Callistus (C. Mohrmann, F. van der Meer, Atlas of the Early Christian World (London, 1959), fig. 87, henceforth Atlas), in the catacomb of SS. Pietro and Marcellino (C. Ihm, Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom IV Jh. bis zur Mitte des VIII Jh. [Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie 4], (Wiesbaden, 1960), pl. XV.1, henceforth Ihm, Apsismalerei), Santa Sabina wooden doors, Adoration plaque (Alinari 27950), 5-part book cover, Cathedral Treasury, Milan (Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, cat. no. 119), ampulla, Cathedral Treasury, Monza (Atlas, fig. 323), S. Vitale sarcophagus, Ravenna (Volbach, Kunst, pl. 179), 5-part book cover, Cloister, Estchmiadzin (Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, cat. no. 142), Coptic ivory, British Museum (ibid., cat. no. 131), Werden ivory, Victoria and Albert Museum (ibid., cat. no. 118), ivory, John Rylands Library, Manchester (ibid., cat. no. 127), sarcophagus lid, S. Ambrogio, Milan (Atlas, fig. 169), Thraso catacomb (ibid., fig. 560), gold enkolpion, Ottoman Museum, Istanbul (ibid., fig. 305), and in Paris gr. 510, fol. 137 (Omont, Les MSS Grecs, pl. XXXII).

A further fallacy in the imputed Theotokos iconography is indicated in the name and dedication of the church, as commemorated by Sixtus. He dedicated it: "Virgo Maria tibi Xystus nova tecta . . ."[25] The church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, not to the Mother of God. Until the sixth century, in fact, the basilica was called simply "basilica Sanctae Mariae."[26] Only then, 200 years after Ephesus and after the mosaics, did the church begin to be called "ecclesia sanctae Dei genetricis."[27] If Sixtus, despite his proximity to the Council of Ephesus and the Theotokos-Christotokos debate, did not dedicate his church to the Theotokos, it may be an exaggeration to see in the iconography of the arch an expression of the Theotokos dogma.

With these factors in mind, one may begin to question the validity of much of the common interpretation of the arch. If we accept the papal condemnation of such writings, the several scenes and details which have been identified on the basis of apocrypha demand new interpretation. The Theotokos theme, the most vulnerable, has hamstrung freer identification

[25]See above, Chapter I, 17 f.

[26]Krautheimer, "SMM," 57.

[27]Actually the use of the term "dei genetricis" occurs in a ninth century inscription reproducing a sixth century deed of a gift in the seventh century, however, under Gregory II and Gregory III, the suffix appears with regularity, cf. Krautheimer, "SMM," 6 (Under "VI cent.," "715-731," and "731-741.").

of several figures and scenes. A study of the iconography without the Theotokos prejudice will bear fresh material. The identification of figures, and then of scenes, on the basis of obviously restored figures is also faulty procedure and requires new attention. A new study of the arch, beginning with a scrutiny of its restorations, followed by a study of the iconography of several of the protagonists will provide the keys to a fresh interpretation of the arch.

B. Restorations

The present and pristine condition of the arch scarcely indicates the reduced condition it presented forty years ago, prior to its most recent and most extensive restoration. Photographs taken ca. 1900 and Wilpert's color plates testify to this condition.[28] Large cracks, fissures, missing areas of tesserae, crudely repaired, patched and painted areas and clamps of various types mark the surface of the arch. In the course of its restoration, the mosaic was removed in 111 pieces for consolidation and artistic integration.[29]

[28]Anderson photograph nos. 17653-17659; Alinari photograph nos. 28297, 30131, 30122, 30124; Wilpert RMM, III, pls. 53-74.

[29]The number of sections marked on photographs in the archives of the restoration laboratories of the Vatican Museum, in file "Santa Maria Maggiore, Documentazione degli Strappi, serie B." Consolidation and artistic intergration were the two aspects of the restorations of the 1930s, cf. G. Pianigiani, the overseer of the campaign, Protocollo 1400, "Relazione dei restauri dei mosaici . . . a giugno 1937," 10.

Once before the twentieth century, the arch mosaic appears to have received considerable attention.[30] Collation of documentary and stylistic evidence reveals the work of Cardinal Pinelli in the last decade of the sixteenth century to have been rather extensive.[31] This man, who in installing two large pilasters at the extremes of the arch destroyed the edges of the mosaic, seems to have effected substantial repairs on its surface. Ciampini reports that parts of the spandrels were entirely in paint, a restoration he attributed to Pinelli.[32] Further, certain figures stylistically incompatible with the fifth century, yet apearing in Eclissi's sketch of ca. 1640, must also be credited to Pinelli, or, if not him, then an anonymous restorer prior to Eclissi's day. The parts in question are the central figure in the Massacre scene, the Josephs, and scattered details in other zones.

Before its restoration in the 1930s, the Massacre of the Innocents was in a rather reduced condition (fig. 48). A great fissure ran from the two guards at the left through the central one and on into the group of women. The figure of Herod was largely secreted behind Pinelli's pilaster. Much of the surface seems to have been repaired in a stuccoed

[30] Minor repair and cleaning were, however, more frequent: in 1824, under Benedict XIII (or XIV) and in Ciampini's day. See below, Appendix B,264 ff.

[31] By an inscription, see above, Chapter I, 6 f. and notes 4 and 5.

[32] Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, 209.

imitation of tessellation. In addition, the restorer, noted extensive restoration in fresco of the left edge, as well as in the heads and gowns of the women.[33]

Despite these losses, the curious style of the zone is still discernible. Thin, flat, and dilute, it lacks a parallel on the arch. At best, the two guards near Herod resemble the diminutive forms of the battle-master but it is difficult to credit the remainder of the zone to him in its present condition. The guard reaching for the child is not his work: its wooden-legged, robot-like stance, its shoulderless, poorly proportioned form betray an extensive and unskilled repair. Appearance of just this figure in Eclissi's sketch provides a terminus ante quem of 1640. The whole zone is too dry, the figures have as much depth and form as playing cards, the women are too wraith-like, their faces and heads too crudely constructed, even acknowledging their imminent misfortune. Yet, the iconography finds a parallel on a fifth century ivory; the Massacre scene on one of the leaves of the Milan diptych is similarly composed, including the appearance of the long-haired mothers (fig. 49). The scene must then be basically fifth century, perhaps the work of the battle master. Having suffered heavy loss, particularly in the central figure and the group of women, it was repaired by Pinelli.

[33]Notations made on an Anderson photograph with color-keyed references to the different restorations, see below, Appendix B, 265.

A brutal and unattractive figure, the Joseph in the Annunciation scene, is an outrageous interpolation (fig. 56). In the whole population of Santa Maria Maggiore he has no equal; in the diverse products of the various hands and styles demonstrated in the nave and continuing to a lesser extent on the arch he is without comparison. Figure conception, composition, and technical execution indicate the totally intrusive character of this figure. Yet, the address of the angel to the left (fig. 45) indicates there was originally another figure in Joseph's place.

In order to buttress this pronouncement on Joseph, let us compare him with the figure of the angel to the left. The angel is seen in three-quarter profile, standing in a contraposto position, left leg supporting his weight, while the right reaches out behind. A tall, long-legged figure, somewhat narrow-shouldered, he wears a white tunic with blue clavi and an L-shaped marking. The drapery is ample, yet its fall is stiff, cardboard-like, the folds shallow, the shadows light. But it is closer to the full plastic treatment of the garments of Abraham and Lot than the late antique patternization characterizing the garments of Moses sweetening the waters of Marah. The angel lifts his right hand in conversation; his nimbed head (fig. 57), set on a strong neck, seen in profile, looks intently at Joseph. His hair is a curly mass, tessellated in varying shades. His eyes, the

dominant facial feature, are large and of a construction similar to that seen in several panels of the nave (e.g., fig. 35): a dark pupil formed of a single tessera, several surrounding lighter cubes, the whole enveloped by dark tesserae, constructing a rather straight upper lid, but drooping lower one. The distinct brow is separated from the eye by a stripe of flesh-colored tesserae.

Joseph, on the other hand, is a blocky figure, stubby and short-legged. He stands on small misshapen feet set on the border of the mosaic field. Unlike his ethereal companion, he does not stand convincingly in this space, but gives the impression he would slip off, were it not for his weight. He faces us frontally, turning slightly to the left. His short white long-waisted tunic is without crease or fold; it has the slightest shadows below the waist and along the clavus. An orange mantle hanging from his left shoulder and covering his left hand is likewise only rudimentarily plastic. His right arm is a reconstruction dating after Eclissi's time: this arm was once held in a more animated gesture, the shadow of which may be seen on the patched surface. Now the hand either clasps a non-existent staff or is on its way into Joseph's mouth.

Equally unskilled and objectionable is this figure's head. Short-necked (or neckless) and bearded, the brutal face with its spatulate nose stares off into space. Instead of the curly locks of the angel, this head is capped with a

shallow dome of tesserae, rimmed in darker tesserae. The face is outlined in the same dark cubes, the left ear juts out from behind a meager sideburn. The lower half of the face is lost in a dark untidy beard, above which a flat broad nose protrudes. Eyes and eyebrows are combined: the eyebrows serve as the upper outline to the large white eyes with their dark evil pupils.

Neither the same artist, nor the same shop, nor the same century can have created this figure and the fine angel with whom he speaks. And it is the style of the angel which predominates in the integral parts of the arch. This Joseph, too, must be counted a restoration of Pinelli.

Joseph reappears three times on the arch. Twice he has been restored by Pianigiani: at the far left edge of the Adoration of the Magi and in a sleeping position at the far right in the top zone, both times in repair of the edges damaged by Pinelli's pilasters and conceived physiognomically on the model of the interpolated Joseph in the Annunciation scene. The fourth Joseph of this type appears in the Aphrodisias scene. He predates Pianigiani. Stylistic criteria evidence his restored status, yet the date of the repair is difficult to determine.

As was much of the right third of this spandrel of the arch, this Joseph was in poor condition prior to his last repair (fig. 58). A fissure ran through him from above right to lower left, that is down the left side of his face,

across his shoulder, down the middle of his body to the ground. Clamps held on patches of tesserae belonging to him and to Mary. There were several areas of painted repair. The argument for this Joseph's modernity consists of his different stylistic conception in comparison to the other figures in his zone. The differences are similar to those which distinguish the angel and Joseph in the Annunciation: a blocky frontality, a breadth without depth, a heavy face different in construction from that of its neighbors, the flat cap of hair. Not as brutal as the first Joseph, the head of this Joseph is still incompatible with integral heads. One may also suggest that the face and neck of Mary, damaged by the same fissure, were also repaired.

Eclissi drew, from center to right edge, three angels and two women, rather than two angels, Christ, Joseph, Mary, and two angels. What appears to have happened, if we charge Eclissi with error rather than suggest a major reworking of the figures after 1640, is that Eclissi has seen the second angel's wing as the head of a third angel and converted the Joseph into a woman in the company of Mary. Then, to the left of Mary, he omitted an angel, as he omitted the Christ-child. The markings on the gowns of the two angels he drew in the center preserve, however, the adumbrations of this small figure. Joseph then was Eclissi's major difficulty; he drew a woman. We may make several excuses for him: the large crack which crossed the figure may have existed already

in the mid-seventeenth century and have obscured the identification of the figure. Or it may have been repainted by Pinelli but have become too dirty for recognition; Ciampini, in fact, wrote that by his day the arch was so dirty that it was difficult to distinguish the compositions.[34] His sketch of the arch is too crude to aid in solving the problem, but his Joseph is a male. Therefore, it would seem that Eclissi erred in depicting a woman.

Damage and restorations to the zone then comprised the figure of Joseph, the head of Mary, some small details in the figures at the left, and the entire angel at the right edge.[35]

Further restored areas include the scene at the far right of the Presentation, which depicts along the flank of the temple the Dream of Joseph in which an angel advises him of the Herodian persecution. The present Joseph is the work of the restorers of the 1930s, who reconstructed him from the evidence of a surviving foot. There is reason to believe that this may be an inaccurate restoration. Eclissi supplies this evidence in the delineation of what still survived of the original figure. What he saw and drew was the left half

[34]Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, 200: "Eò tamen acrius ad id impellebar, quò difficilius videbatur . . ."

[35]The last figure, the angel, is a recent restoration, replacing one destroyed under Pinelli's pilaster.

of an enthroned figure in conversation with an angel. We shall discuss this original composition in greater detail below.

The Adoration of the Magi has suffered injuries and restorations in several areas (fig. 47). Due to the installation of the pilaster, one and perhaps two figures to the left of the figure at the left edge of the throne were cut off. The arm of one remained, reaching out over Mary's head; it was assigned to the third Magus. A large crack ran nearly on the vertical from the top of the first zone through the little house and down to the middle zone through the seated Mary, obliterating half her face and the mid-section of her body. This fissure was patched in fresco prior to its recent retessellation. Other losses of tesserae were minor, touches in the faces and wings of the angels, in the background. But the heads of the two Magi at the right were rather terrifyingly refashioned at one time.

The meeting between Herod and the Magi contained areas lacking tessellation (fig. 58). Primarily the figure of Herod was cut in half, the right half lost under Pinelli's pilaster as was the body of a second guard standing behind his throne. Large areas of gold cubes were missing from the background between the heads of the two priests and in patches on the shoulders of the outer two Magi. The mosaic was held

onto the wall by thirteen clamps.[36]

The architectural elements in every zone, in particular the first and fourth, also experienced restoration. The scaffolding below the Borgia frieze damaged the upper reaches of the first zone, cutting out the roofs, skies, coffering, and other scenic and background elements (fig. 33). The two symbolic cities likewise lost large sections of tesserae. That of Jerusalem was confined to the edges, but most of the Bethlehem composition was lost by Pinelli's day and repainted then.[37]

Damaged along with the rest of the upper zone was the central composition of the empty throne in its mandorla, flanked by the two apostles and four evangelist symbols. What presents itself now in this area has been restored several times, including the two apostles and much of the inscription, yet there seems to be little ground for contesting the reconstruction.

In summary, restorations to the arch seem to have been at their most significant and misleading in the figures of Joseph. Other repairs, confined to parts of figures and

[36]Pianigiani's count on Anderson photo. no. 17658. Eclissi seems to have left his sketch of the arch incomplete at this point, for he depicts only the three Magi and differently clad at that. Likewise, he has omitted the Bethlehem scene below.

[37]Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, 209. He further notes that the sheep were "pictura efformatos . . . Hi tamen agni antiquitùs Musivo opere expressi erant, qui postea temporis injuriâ expuncti, picturâ iterum restituti fuêre."

background elements, did not alter to a significant degree the iconography of the arch, though they lessened its stylistic unity.

C. Mary and Joseph

Joseph is, in fact, one of the keys to the arch, both in his interpolated role and in his actual role. A true and unrestored Joseph is found in the Presentation (fig. 59). A grey-bearded, grey-haired man, he wears a short girt tunic with clavus and carries an orange mantle. Unlike his rejected brothers, this Joseph is a full-bodied, plastically-conceived figure. His sleeve bunches, his skirt falls, he is about to show a paunch, his hair curls and is full. The construction of the eyes is like that described for the angel in the Annunciation, outlined in dark cubes but with a distinct brow and alert gaze. He turns toward a woman, identified as the prophetess Anna, yet his glance is directed over his shoulder towards the Christ-child held by a matronly Mary (fig. 60). The veiled Anna, clad in grey robe and palla with red highlights, resembles one of the Ecclesia personifications in S. Sabina; she looks to Mary and the child, gesturing to them with her right hand. The angel between the couple likewise binds the two groups: he gestures to Anna, but looks beyond Joseph to the child and His bearer.

The proper identification of this scene and its protagonists paves the way to the new interpretation of the

the arch. What is occurring is not the Presentation in the Temple, according to the account in Luke, but a symbolic and mystical presentation of the Christ-child at the moment of the espousal of His parents.[38] The central figures linked by the angel are the bridal pair, Mary and Joseph, and not Joseph, oddly paired with the prophetess Anna. The couple is about to be joined by the angel in a traditional compositional motif connoting conjugal ties, the dextrarum iunctio, a motif often symbolizing Concordia as well as marriage, which may be seen on roman coins, grave altars, urns, and sarcophagi of the Late Antique period.[39] This compositional motif also continues into

[38] A suggestion first made by Brodsky: "L'Iconographie oubliée," 1961, 446 ff. E. Kantorowicz's evaluation of the scene as "hypapante" meshes well with Grabar's and Gagé's "templum-urbis - renovatio romae" thesis, see above note 12, in "Puer Exoriens': On the Hypapante in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," Selected Studies (New York, 1965), 25 ff. Yet as exacting as Kantorowicz's article is, his thesis has several fallacies. It is based on the traditional identification of the protagonists as Anna and Simeon, Mary and Joseph, an identification which can be challenged and will be rejected in these pages in favor of another cast of characters which has a consistency of role throughout the arch and a unity of program with the nave. Second, Kantorowicz's seeing on the arch of a Roman church the representation of an Eastern Orthodox celebration fitted out in imperial iconography based on mythological types strikes one as too contingent and tenuous an argument.

[39] For example, the Mantua sarcophagus, one in the Villa Taverna, Frascati, and coins of M. Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, 145-148 A.D. and Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder, cf. G. Rodenwaldt, "Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst," Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Kl., 1935, no. 3, 6, 13 ff.

Christian sarcophagi.[40] Furthermore, two scenes of marriage in the nave cycle contain the very same dextrarum iunctio, that of Jacob and Rachel (fig. 8) and Moses and Sephora (fig. 15).

For these iconographical reasons, the somberly clad woman is to be identified as Mary, not the more matronly figure in the golden dalmatic. But let us first ascertain the iconography of Mary as she appears in the Espousal.

This conception of Mary, modest, reserved, youthful, clad in dark robes and veiled, predominates in Early Christian and Byzantine iconography, and is nearly without exception the exclusive aspect of Mary in fourth and fifth century art, in both cyclical and hieratic representations. The examples of this type are more than numerous in wood and stone sculpture, in ivories, in manuscripts, mosaics, frescoes, icons, and other genre of the minor arts, for example: several scenes on the portals of S. Sabina, the S. Nazaro silver casket, Cathedral Treasury, Milan; lid of the city-gate sarcophagus, S. Ambrogio, Milan; the Milan and Munich Resurrection ivories; a Coptic ivory in the British Museum; the cathedra of Maximianus, Ravenna; the Rabbula Gospels, Florence, Bibliotheca Laurentiana, Plut. Syr. I.56;

[40]For example, the sarcophagus of Probo, Museo Petriano, (Wilpert, I sarcofagi cristiani antichi (Rome, 1929), pl. vol. I, pl. 35, 4), fragments from Porto once in the Lateran (ibid., 70, 2, and 86), Vescovia (ibid, 70, 3), Palatine fragment (ibid., 74, 3), Mantua city-gate sarcophagus (ibid., 74, 5), and fragments once in the Lateran museum (ibid., 156).

the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. grec 510; two fragments from the mosaic decoration of the oratory of John VII at St. Peter's; the apse of S. Venanzio and that of Paschal I in S. Maria in Domnica, Rome; the apse of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, and that of the Koimesis Church, Nicaea; the Basilica Eufrasiana, Parenzo; the Panagia Angeloktistos and the Panagia Kanakaria on Cyrpus; several burial chapels in Sakkara and Bawit; votive frescoes of Turtura in the catacomb of Commodilla; the catacomb of Thraso; the icon of the Madonna in the Pantheon and that in S. Francesca Romana; an icon in St. Catherine's monastery, Mt. Sinai; the Sancta Sanctorum illuminated box and a Byzantine silk in the Vatican.[41]

[41]For illustrations, cf. S. Sabina, Second Coming panel (Atlas, fig. 210), S. Nazaro silver casket, Cathedral Treasury, Milan (Volbach, Kunst, pl. 112); Resurrection ivory, Castell' Sforzesco, Milan (Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, cat. no. 111), Resurrection ivory, Bayer. Nat'l. Museum, Munich (ibid., cat. no. 110), Rabbula Gospels, fols. 13 r,v (M. Salmi, The Rabbula Gospels (Olten, 1959)[unnumbered pls.]), John VII fragments (Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII," cat. nos. 3, 5, 7, pp. 130 ff., pl. opp. 166, pl. VIIa), S. Maria in Domnica (Bertelli, La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere, fig. 41), S. Venanzio (Ihm, Apsismalerei, pl. XXIII.2), H. Sophia (ibid., XIX.1), Koimesis Church (ibid., XIX.2), Panagia Kanakaria (ibid., XVI), Panagia Angeloktistos (ibid., XVIII.2), Sakkara and Bawit (ibid., XVII.1, XVIII.1, XXV), Sancta Sanctorum box (Atlas, fig. 321), Commodilla catacomb (ibid., fig. 546), Thraso (ibid., fig. 560), Byzantine silk (ibid., 256), S. Francesca Romana icon (E. Kitzinger, "On Some Icons of the Seventh Century," Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, K. Weitzmann, ed. (Princeton, 1955), pl. XVIII.1)), Sinai icon (ibid., XIX.1), Pantheon icon (Bertelli, "La Madonna del Pantheon," B.d.A. 46 (1961), 25), Paris gr. 510, fol. 137 (Omont, Les MSS Grecs, pl. XXXII).

An alternate and apparently later type of Mary is that of Maria Regina, in which the Virgin assumes a queenly status, richly adorned as a stately figure, more matronly than the young and somber-robed type. Bertelli credits this majestic type to the Byzantine-Adriatic regions of Italy, to the aulic spheres of Ravenna and Grado.[42] He traced its earliest extant appearance to a "capsella argentea" issued in the second half of the sixth century.[43] The first appearance of Maria Regina in Rome--after the supposed Theotokos images on the arch of Santa Maria Maggiore[44]--occurs in the third layer of fresco decoration in the presbytery of Santa Maria Antiqua, on the "palimpsest wall"; this layer dates in the sixth century.[45] The type lay dormant and then gained popularity in the seventh and eighth centuries, appearing, for example, in the oratory mosaics of John VII at the Vatican alongside traditional Madonna iconography, in the form of an orans Maria Regina, now in S. Marco, Florence, and in the icon in Santa Maria in Trastevere.[46]

[42]Bertelli, La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere, 50 ff.

[43]Ibid., and fig. 42.

[44]Bertelli credits her costuming to the influence of apocrypha rather than Ephesus, ibid., 48.

[45]Ibid., 55 ff., and Nordhagen, "The Earliest Decorations in S. Maria Antiqua and their Date," ACTA 1 (1962), 56.

[46]Bertelli, ibid., 58; that is until the very centuries when the "basilica sanctae Mariae" became known as the "basilicae sanctae dei genetricis."

On the basis of Bertelli's evidence for the lateness and rarity of this type, it may be possible to question the identification of Mary as the ornate and matronly figure who appears on the arch of Santa Maria Maggiore. The costuming of this woman is not like that of the later Maria Regina images as a comparison of this figure with John VII's Orante now in Florence will show.

The so-called Mary (fig. 60) wears a white undertunic with long full sleeves and a golden dalmatic with dark clavi, fastened by a jewelled fibula. Around her neck she wears a heavy jewelled necklace. Her hair is arranged close to her head; at her forehead and on her ears she wears white jewels. On the crown of her head is placed a small diadem with several white stones. Her feet are covered in neutrally-colored shoes. The three other versions of this figure on the arch vary only slightly, in terms of necklace, or degree of pattern embossed on the dalmatic.

In contrast to her rich dress, Maria Regina figures are generally somberly clad, though bejewelled. The S. Marco orante (fig. 61) wears tunic, dalmatic and trabea. First she wears a purple undertunic and a long purple dalmatic of a patterned material. Over this is worn a purple trabea, bordered by jewels. On her shoulders are large orbiculi (red, blue, gold, and pearled); her waist is cinched high by a jewelled belt with a large central clasp. She

wears a collar-necklace of vari-colored jewels and pendant pearls. And last, her head supports a large, three-peaked diadem, richly encrusted, from which hang at the sides and behind long pearl bands, perpendiculia.[47]

Thus, in both date and costume, the so-called Maria Regina-Theotokos on the arch of Santa Maria Maggiore is inconsistent with the traditional types to which she is often compared. This evidence combined with the traditional iconography of Mary and the identification of the central motif in the upper right zone as an Espousal undermine the common identification of Mary as the matronly figure in golden dalmatic. The new identification secures for Mary a more conservative aspect, a far more youthful appearance and a wealth of contemporary sister-images. Yet, the recognition of the dark-robed figure as the espoused Mary raises several further considerations: does she change her garments in other scenes, and if so, why? If she does, whom are we to recognize in the figure seated to the right of Christ in the Adoration of the Magi who shares with the Mary of the Espousal scene dark robes, veil, and youth (fig. 50)? If Mary does not differ in appearance in the other scenes, then who is the woman in gold?

In the Adoration scene, common interpretation notes

[47]Nordhagen provided the terminology for this description, "The Mosaics of John VII," 121 ff., esp. 124 ff.

that Mary is the woman in golden dalmatic to the left of the throne. The identity of the woman in dark blue seated at the right, in a far more central position, is highly controversial (fig. 50). Ciampini mistook her for a third Magus; recent writers call her the Ecclesia ex Gentibus, the Prophetess Anna, a sybil, Anna the mother of Mary, a midwife, a Levite woman.[48] To the present writer, it seems abundantly obvious that this woman is the same as the central figure in the Espousal, that is, she is Mary. Though the colors of her garments differ, the effect and style are similar. In each appearance, she wears red shoes. These may be the proof of her identification. It is to be noted that in the apse mosaic, Torriti clothed the Virgin in a full palla of golden material with blue shadows, veiled her and shod her in red.

If these two figures are Mary, the woman commonly held to be Mary has been misidentified. The similarity of costume in each of the latter's four appearances assures her a consistent identity. The number of her appearances on the arch and her ascendancy over the Virgin as the guardian of the Christ-child indicate the importance of her role. She is fundamental to the program of the arch.

[48]See above, Chapter I, 16.

D. Abraham, Sarah, and the City of God

In the Espousal, Mary and Joseph occupy the center of a tripartite composition flanked by an elderly couple; at the left the golden matron holds the Christ-child, at the right a white-haired, white-bearded man reaches out with covered hands towards the child (fig. 46). I propose that this figure is Abraham; he resembles in feature and dress the several Abrahams in the nave, short trim white beard, thick crown of hair, white tunic with dark clavi, full pallium, and sandalled feet (figs. 2, 3, 40, 43, 46).

He reaches out for the child promised him by God, his legitimate heir, as Ambrose writes:

> Et ideo addidit: qui exierit de te; Ille enim vere exivit ex Abraham, qui legitimo coniugio procreatus est. Sed per Isaac legitimum filium illum verum legitimum possumus intellegere dominum Iesum, quem in principio evangelii secundum Matthaeum Abrahae filium legimus, qui verum se Abrahae gessit heredem, auctoris inluminans successionem, per quem Abraham respexit in caelum . . .[49]

If the white-haired man reaching out for the Christ-child is Abraham, the woman holding the child may well be his "legitimus coniunx," Sarah (fig. 60). Unlike the figures of Abraham, the Sarah of the arch differs from the one Sarah of the nave. The first, dark-haired, stately, robed in gold, and covered with jewels, contrasts strikingly with the short

[49] Ambrose, De Abraham I.3.20 (C.S.E.L. 32.1, ed. C. Schenkl (Vienna, 1897), 516).

buxom Sarah of Mamre (fig. 3), dressed in orange, grey, and black, with a white-turbaned head. This diversity may be attributed to three factors. Sarah at Mamre shares with the rest of the panel and the nave cycle a modest origin in the tradition of illuminated manuscripts. So dependent is this scene on its model that the two figures of Abraham are superimposed, a convention of continuous narrative illustration. The iconography of the arch is, however, original, as has been shown in reference to the novel compositions of the Annunciation and Adoration. When executing the mosaics, there were not always models from which to draw entire compositions or types of several of the figures. Mary-iconography existed, as did the white-bearded, white-robed patriarchal Abraham. But Sarah had to be created anew and in accordance with her significance as the typological partner of Mary she was given a more stately appearance than that which she had in illuminated manuscripts. As further factors of diversity, one may suggest a difference in artists as well as the compromising effects of damage and restoration to the Mamre panel, which coarsened the features of Sarah's face and the proportions of her body.

The patriarchal pair, Abraham and Sarah, participate in other scenes of the arch. It has been established that the Joseph of the Annunciation is an interpolation, yet the positions of the angels indicate that he was preceded by

another figure. I suggest Abraham once stood there. The angels addressing him, to extrapolate from the themes of the arch and nave, are announcing to him the forthcoming birth of Isaac, his legitimate heir. To the left, the commonly identified Annunciation to Mary is to be reinterpreted as an Annunciation to Sarah. Joseph of the Aphrodisias incident, also restored, was originally an Abraham, in the company of Sarah. Likewise, the patriarchal pair were present at the Adoration of the Magi, Sarah to the left of the throne, Abraham, once at the far left, but destroyed by Pinelli.

The appearance of Abraham on the arch should not be surprising considering the suggested program of the mosaics, that is, the fulfillment of the divine promises to Abraham, as defined by Augustine in De Civitate Dei. The nave walls, as we have seen, depict the fulfillment of the temporal promises for descendants and for land. The arch, the architectural element that physically completes the nave, presents the iconographic and programmatic climax of the pictorial decoration in the perfection of the spiritual promise. The identification of Abraham and Sarah on the arch confirms this hypothesis: their presence symbolizes the Old Testament prophecies relevant to Christ's coming, as the panels of the nave were stamped by the prefigurations of Christian events. The arch is, therefore, comprised of a kind of reverse typology.

Despite its conformity to the suggested program, the large role given Sarah may be questioned. Scarcely any comparative material exists which produces her as the subject or center of single images or cycles, let alone as a protagonist of a christological cycle. Yet her role in typological constructions, in exegetical commentaries and in patristic literature merits her the position she holds on the arch. The originality of the program may account for the lack of duplication of its iconography; this same originality may also be responsible for the previous failures to interpret correctly its figures and scenes.

Sarah's regal attire may be attributed to several causes: her exalted role on the arch, her matriarchal importance, and the meaning of the name Sarah.[50] In Hebrew her name was originally Sarai, meaning "my princess." After the Annunciation, it was changed to Sara, which means "princess."[51]

To Sarah is accounted a double Christian value, one prophetic, the other allegorical. Her prophetic role centers on the birth of Isaac, who by virtue of his birth and

[50]Bertelli credits her dress to the iconography of the "sponsa," La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere, 48, 114, note 30; Grabar to the mode of the imperial house, L'Empereur . . ., 226.

[51]Jerome, Liber Hebraicarum Quaestionum in Genesim 1.17 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 72 (Turnholti, 1959), 21). However, in the Septuagint and the Latin version used by Augustine the spelling change from Sara to Sarra contained a change in meaning from "my princess" to "strength": "Sara interpretatur princeps mea, Sarra autem virtus," Civ. Dei 16.28 (C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 177).

sacrifice ranks as a Christ-figure. Both as a result of her maternity and of the nature of this maternity, Sarah becomes a figure of Mary.[52] For the conception of Sarah, like that of Mary, was substantially abetted by divine intervention:

> Now Abraham and Sarah were old . . . it had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women. So Sarah laughed to herself, saying, "After I have grown old, and my husband is old, shall I have pleasure?" The Lord said to Abraham, "Why did Sarah laugh and say, 'Shall I indeed bear a child, now that I am old?' Is anything too hard for the Lord? At the appointed time I will return to you, in the spring, and Sarah shall have a son."
>
> Genesis 18.11-14

Several chapters later we read of her pregnancy:

> The Lord visited Sarah as he had said, and the Lord did to Sarah as he had promised. And Sarah conceived, and bore Abraham a son.
>
> Genesis 21.1-2

In the context of a commentary on Paul's allegory in Galatians, Augustine elaborates on Sarah's conception, "de sterilitate Sarrae, quam Dei gratiae fecundavit" (Civ. Dei 15.2 f.).[53] Ishmael was born "sicut nascuntur homines, permixtione sexus utriusque, usitata lege naturae," that is "secundum carnem." The birth of Isaac, "filius promissionis,"

[52]Augustine juxtaposes the pregnancies of Sarah and Mary in Contra Secundinum 1.22: "Quamquam patrum et matrum, quales Abraham et Sara extiterunt, ipsum officium coniugale non ex humana societate, sed ex divina dispensatione pensandum est. Nam quia Christum in carne venire oportebat, ei carni propagandae famulatum est coniugium Sarae, cui virginitatis Mariae" (C.S.E.L. 25.6.2, 940).

[53]C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 60 ff.

was "ad modum naturae non debebatur excursibus;" rather it was "Dei donum."

In the same allegory, Paul noted that Sarah is symbolic of the free city, the heavenly Jerusalem. On this basis, her allegorical role is founded. Hilarius types her the Church: "Sarra etiam ecclesiam signat, Agar synagogam."[54] Augustine too compares her to the Church; having remained inviolate after the encounter with Abimelech (Genesis 20), she is comparable to the Holy Church, the secret spouse of Christ, who is not defiled by earthly kingdom.[55] Again, elaborating on Paul's allegory, Augustine augments the symbolism of Sarah as heavenly Jerusalem:

> et duo illa secundum apostolum testamenta significantur, vetus et novum, ubi Sarra illa supernae Hierusalem, hoc est civitatis Dei, figuram gerit. (Civ. Dei 16.31)[56]

Thus, in addition to her typological conception, her role as the Church, heavenly Jerusalem and the mother of us all, Sarah symbolized for Augustine the City of God.

The City of God as we have seen is fundamental to the mosaic program of Santa Maria Maggiore. The nave cycle comprises the prophetic history of that City and is dependent in many instances on the text and implications of De Civitate Dei 16. We may, therefore, expect the triumphal

[54]Hilarius, Tractatus Mysteriorum 1.17 (C.S.E.L. 65, ed. A. Feder (Vienna, 1916), 15).

[55]Contra Faustum 22.38 (C.S.E.L. 25.6.1, 631 ff.).

[56]C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 181.

arch to continue both in an Augustinian mode and under the influence of ideas in De Civitate Dei. In their appearance on the arch, Abraham and Sarah serve as a reminder of the divine promises which Augustine develops in his text and which mark the initiation of prophetic history. Abraham and Sarah are present to partake of the fulfillment of the greatest of these promises, the spiritual promise, in the coming of Christ, first as mystically revealed to Mary and Joseph during their Espousal and then in two childhood manifestations. As in the nave, the principle of selection seems to have been based on Augustine, so on the arch Augustinian themes may be traced. Let us turn to the individual scenes and an exposition of their new iconography.

E. The New Iconography

1. The Annunciation to Sarah and Abraham

The program of the arch begins where the geneology of Christ began, with the annunciation to Abraham and Sarah, from whom He is descended secundum carnem and secundum spiritum. Sitting before her little house, engaged in handiwork, Sarah is the recipient in this scene of both the annunciation of Genesis 17 and the divinely-bestowed fertility of Genesis 21. The three angels who stand around Sarah derive from the trinity of visitors to Mamre. The flying angel and dove may be interpreted as the visitation of the Lord to

Sarah in Genesis 21. The dove is a common Christian symbol of the granting of divine grace or the descent of the Holy Spirit; it is found in several iconographic contexts connoting this benefit, such as the Baptism of Christ and Pentecost (fig. 49).[57]

The iconography of this zone is unique. Even when interpreted as an Annunciation to Mary, it has been noted to be without parallel.[58] Due to the program of the arch, several iconographic conflations have been made: the first is the combination of Mary and Sarah as mothers of children of promise. As a result, the annunciation to Sarah by the angels has been both excerpted from its narrative context and reworked to demonstrate its contentual analogy to that which it adumbrates. The dove of the Holy Spirit likewise derives from the same iconographical context.

To the right Abraham once received the reiteration of the promise from his angelic visitors. When the mosaics were removed from the wall in the 1930s, preliminary sketches of a

[57]For the Baptism of Christ, cf. cupolas of the Orthodox and Arian baptisteries, Ravenna (Volbach, Kunst, pls. 141, 149), 5-part diptych, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, cat. no. 112), ivory fragment, British Museum (ibid., cat. no. 141), Rabbula Gospels, fol. 4 v (Salmi, Rabbula, [unnumbered pl.]), Commodilla catacomb (Atlas, fig. 48, 49). For the Pentecost iconography, cf. Rabbula Gospels, fol. 14 v (Salmi, Rabbula, [unnumbered pl.]), Sanctuary dome, Hosios Lukas (E. Diez, O. Demus, Byzantine Mosaics in Greece (Cambridge, 1931), pl. 5, fig. 7). A dove hovering over David in the Paris Psalter, fol. 7 v, symbolizes that God is with him (Omont, Les MSS Grecs, pl. VII).

[58]Grabar, L'Empereur . . ., 226.

rough nature were found on the lowest layer of plaster.[59] These sketches plot out a different disposition of figures than was eventually executed in mosaic. In the sketch, there are two flying angels, one to the right of Abraham, at the flank of his house and a second angel to the left of the patriarch, flying toward Sarah. The executed mosaic, therefore, seems to have been subjected to the trinitarian symbolism of the theophany at Mamre, and, as a result, the number of angels has increased between sketch and mosaic. The total of six angels, two trinities' worth, may be accounted to the continuous narration of the scene, in which separate addresses are made to the husband and wife. The frieze-like composition may then be understood as follows: one trinity of angels per human, that of Sarah comprising the two angels at her left and the flying one; that of Abraham the other three. The angels of this second trinity stand in a neat isolation, bridging the space between the two future parents. The involvement of Sarah in the content of the message to Abraham is expressed by the way in which the left-most angel of his trinity turns and presents to Abraham and the viewer she who will bring forth Isaac, through whom the generations of Abraham will be counted until the fulfillment of the

[59] B. Biagetti, "Splendori di arte antica nella basilica Liberiana rinnovellati dal Sommo Pontefice Pio XI," L'Illustrazione Vaticana 2.5 (1931), 26 ff. and ibid., "Intorno ai restauri di Pio XI nella basilica Liberiana," ibid., 2.6 (1931), 27 ff.

spiritual promise in Christ.

2. The Espousal

The central elements of the Espousal scene have been discussed at length in establishing the foundation for the new iconographic thesis but other details await exposition. In the midst of their engagement, Mary and Joseph are granted a vision of the Christ-child, presented by their ancestors, Abraham and Sarah. The vision takes place before an arcuated colonnade and is witnessed by eleven men, of whom the heads and bodies of eight are visible. Three of these men wear the sacerdotal mantle above short girt tunics with blue clavi. All are bearded and long-haired. They bind physically and by their gaze the Theophany of the Christ-child at the left, and the temple with its attendant scene on the right. Their identity must, therefore, relate to both the Christ-child and the meaning contained in the representation of a temple.

On analogy with the garb worn in the nave by Melchisedech and Jethro, three men of this group are to be identified as priests. They must be Levites of the line of Aaron, standing in the midst of prophets, they who attested throughout Hebrew history to the future of the nation, the end of the covenant and the coming of the Messiah.[60] The

[60]Augustine devotes 21 chapters to the major and minor prophets, Civ. Dei 18.27-48.

priests and prophets may be understood as a "remnant of Jacob" which Isaiah predicted would be saved to return "to the mighty God" (Isaiah 10.21). In the context of Espousal and theophany, they express the messianic anticipation of the child.

The temple is commonly identified as the temple of Jerusalem or the Templum Urbis of Rome, with the goddess Roma on the pediment (fig. 54). It is possible to offer a new identification of this building following the iconographical principles of the arch. In this context in which symbol and fact and mystery and reality are juxtaposed to illustrate a larger idea, the building depicted must be of prophetic and mystical significance. And if it, like the Christ-child, is pointed to by prophets who served to link the two Testaments and by priests who in their yielding to Christ symbolized the ceding of the Old Covenant to the New, then the building must be not only a link between the Old Testament and the New Testament, and, therefore, of a prophetic nature, but must also be symbolic of Christ. That the building is a symbol and not a real piece of architecture is to be inferred from its small size and its location with the architectural background of the whole zone, that is, under the arcuated colonnade.

On its prophetic level, the little temple can only be the Temple of Jerusalem built by Solomon. That temple,

Augustine wrote, seemed to fulfill part of God's utterance to David (Civ. Dei 17.8):[61]

> 'When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son.'
> II Samuel 7:12-14

But the house or temple built by Solomon was only a figure of the House of God, as Solomon was a figure of Christ:

> Nomen enim Salomonis interpretatur Pacificus; est autem ille verus pacificus, de quo dicit apostolus: 'Ipse est enim pax nostra, qui fecit utraque unum.' . . . Quia ergo ille verus Salomon; Salomon autem ille filius David de muliere Bersabee, rex Israel, figuram gestabat huius pacifici, quando templum aedificavit: ideo ne illum putes Salomonem qui aedificavit domum Deo, alium Salomonem tibi ostendens scriptura sic coepit in psalmo: 'Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt aedificantes eum.' Dominus ergo aedificat domum, Dominus Iesus Christus aedificat domum suam.[62]

Thus the temple of Solomon is an earthly figure of the temple or house that Christ will build, "non de lignis et lapidibus, sed de hominibus" (Civ. Dei 17.8).[63]

But the temple may not alone be symbolic of the Church, rather it may be understood as a symbol of Christ. Christ prophetically referred to His own resurrection using a metaphor of the temple. Replying to the Jews who protested His

[61] Civ. Dei 17.8 (C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 234).

[62] Enarrationes in Psalmos CXXVI.1 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 40 (Turnholti, 1956), 1857).

[63] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 235. Might this house built of men explain the head-like antefixes along the cornice of the temple?

expulsion of the money-changers, He said:

> "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." The Jews then said, "It has taken 46 years to build and will you raise it up in three days?", but he spoke of the temple of his body.
>
> John 2.19-21

A more complex symbolism of the temple as Christ returns us to Solomon and his sanctuary which has been identified with Wisdom or thought to be dedicated to Wisdom. This is due to Solomon's reputation for wisdom. He was the wise king par excellence, superior in this quality to his father and all others. He was considered a prophet in whom the Holy Ghost dwelt and under whose inspiration he wrote Canticles, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes.[64] In two instances, Prudentius draws parallels between Solomon's temple and Wisdom. In the Dittochaeon, a temple is built by Wisdom through Solomon's hand. This temple is prophetic of Christ's temple in the hearts of men.[65] Following the allegorical battle in the Psychomachia, a temple is built by Faith and Concord along the guidelines of Revelations 21. Their foundation is analogous to "the task that Solomon, the peaceful heir of a warlike throne, the unarmed successor to an armed court,"

[64] "Solomon," Jewish Encyclopedia XI, 437 ff.

[65] "Aedificat templum Sapientia per Solomonis/obsequium; regina austri grave congerit aurum./tempus adest quo templum hominis sub pectore Christus/aedificet, quod Graia colant, quod barbara ditent," Prudentius, Dittochaeon XXI (Loeb, II, 356).

set on foot. In this temple Wisdom sat enthroned:

> hoc residet solio pollens Sapientia et omne
> consilium regni celsa disponit ab aula,
> tutandique hominis leges sub corde retractat.
> in manibus dominae sceptrum non arte politum
> sed ligno vivum viridi est, quod stirpe recisum,
> quamvis nullus alat terreni caespitis umor, . . .[66]

The figure on the pediment of the temple on the arch may be identified as Wisdom enthroned. Like Roma, the common identification of this figure, her aspect is martial. Ripa described Sapienza Divina as follows:

> Una donna di bellissimo, e santissimo aspetto, sopra un quadrata, vestita di traversa bianca, armata nel petto di corsaletto, e di cimiero in testa, sopra del quale stia un gallo: dalle cui tempie trà l'orrechie, e l'elmetto n'eschino i raggi della Divinità, nella man destra terrà uno scudo rotondo con lo Spirito Santo in mezzo, nella man sinistra il libro della Sapienza, dal quale pendano sette segnacoli con l'Agnello Pasquale sopra il libro.[67]

Several of these attributes of a Renaissance Wisdom may be distinguished on her fifth century prototype, the pedimental figure. She is dressed in traversa, armed, though slightly differently, and fitted out with symbolic attributes. She lacks the chicken on her head as well as the divine rays, but she does hold a round shield in her hand on which Ripa would place the Holy Spirit. The Book of the Seven Seals is missing; instead she holds a scepter, the sole attribute

[66] Psychomachia, lines 875-880 (Loeb, I, 340).

[67] C. Ripa, Nova Iconologia (Padua, 1618), 457.

Prudentius ascribes to Wisdom.[68] Further, the martial figure enthroned on the pediment of the Temple of God may reflect a description of one of the members of the Trinity of which she is but another figure. In the Wisdom of Solomon, various items of military gear are symbolic of divine characteristics and virtues:

> The Lord will take his zeal as his whole armor, and will arm all creation to repel his enemies; he will put on righteousness as a breastplate, and wear impartial justice as a helmet; he will take holiness as an invincible shield, and sharpen stern wrath for a sword . . .
>
> Wisdom of Solomon 5.17-20

In addition, Wisdom is to be understood as either a synonym for the Logos or an aspect of the Trinity, Christ is often called the "power of God and the wisdom of God" (cf. I Corinthians 1.24). Literary descriptions of Wisdom approximate aspects of the Trinity, either in terms of the Logos or the Holy Spirit. A description of Wisdom is contained in the Wisdom of Solomon, a book whose canonicity was rejected in the late fourth century, but according to Augustine, still viewed as authoritative in the West.[69] Here Wisdom is characterized by 21 attributes: ". . . in her there is a spirit that is intelligent, holy, unique, manifold, subtle, mobile, clear . . . all-powerful;" wisdom is "a breath of power of God, and a pure emanation of the glory

[68] Psychomachia, lines 878 ff. (Loeb, I, 340).

[69] Civ. Dei 17.20 (C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 258).

of the Almighty;" ". . . against wisdom evil does not prevail."[70] Like Christ, Wisdom sits on a throne with God: "O, God, . . . who hast made all things by thy word, and by thy wisdom hath formed man, . . . give me the wisdom that sits by thy throne . . ."[71] And last, Wisdom has guided God's people through much of their history, protecting Adam, overseeing Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and others.[72]

Remarking on Proverbs 9.1-5, Augustine approximates Wisdom and Christ:

> . . . consuevit intellegi ab eis, qui Christum sapientiam Dei esse noverunt: 'Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum et subfulsit columnas septem; immolavit suas victimas, miscuit in cratere vinum suam et paravit mensam suam. Misit servos suos convocans cum excellenti praedicatione ad craterem dicens: 'Quis est insipiens? Divertat ad me. Et inopibus sensu dixit: Venite, manducate de meis panibus et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis.' Hic certe agnoscimus Dei sapientiam, hoc est Verbum Patri coaeternum, in utero virginali domum sibi aedificasse corpus humanum et huic, tamquam capiti membra, ecclesiam subiunxisse . . . (Civ. Dei. 17.20)[73]

[70]Wisdom of Solomon 7. 22-30 (The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha).

[71]Ibid., 9.1-4. [72]Ibid., 10-11.

[73]C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 260. Other identifications of the Logos with Wisdom made by Augustine may be found in Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum, cap. II (M.P.L. 42, 604) and in his De Doctrina Christiana 1.23: "Quod non possumus, nisi ipsa sapientia tantae etiam nostrae infirmitati congruere dignaretur et vivendi nobis praeberet exemplum, non aliter quam in homine, quoniam et nos homines sumus" (C.S.E.L. 80, ed. W. M. Green (Vienna, 1963), 13 f., cf. also 1.28, ibid., 15).

The House of Wisdom, as interpreted by Augustine, constitutes an allegory of the mystery of the Incarnation of the Logos in the Virgin's womb. In this respect, the identification of the temple in the Espousal scene as the Temple of Solomon dedicated to Wisdom, augments the mystical content of the scene. Mary and Joseph receive a vision of the Logos Incarnate in the Christ-child while to the side Solomon's Temple of Wisdom is both prophetic of the House of God Christ will build and a symbolic expression of the Incarnation.

A final detail of the Espousal is that of the pairs of pigeons and turtledoves on the steps of the temple. Commonly identified as the birds offered in the Presentation (Luke 2.22 f.), they may not be these at all. In discussing Abraham's relation with God, Augustine compares his doubt of the terrestrial promise (Genesis 15.8-21), with that expressed by Mary in the Annunciation (Luke 1.34), (Civ. Dei 16.24). God, to assure Abraham, orders him to sacrifice a three-year old heifer, a three-year old she-goat, a ram, a turtle dove, and a young pigeon; in the smoke of the sacrifice, the Lord reiterated His promise of the land. Augustine puzzles the symbolism of the animals; heifers may be people subject to the law, the she-goat, the same people in their future sinfulness, the ram the same people in their sovereignty. But the birds he is sure of:

> nullo modo tamen dubitaverim spiritales in ea praefiguratos additamento turturis et columbae. (Civ. Dei 16.24)[74]

I would, therefore, interpret the birds on the steps of the temple as the spiritual descendants of Abraham, his children according to the promise.

The top zone of the triumphal arch thus far presents two interlocking themes, first the spiritual promise made to Abraham and Sarah, and second the mystery of the Incarnation through which the promise is perfected. The last scene on the zone, enacted against the flank of the temple, should therefore conform to these themes. Its reconstruction as the Dream of Joseph is inadequate, for that is an historical event, without relevance to the zone's themes, and more appropriate to the theme of Herod's revenge enacted in the third zone. I should like to propose in this position an Annunciation to Mary; such a composition would complement the other scenes of the zone. That the Joseph reconstruction is faulty is indicated by Eclissi who still saw and sketched, in 1640, an angel standing beside a seated or enthroned figure, to whom he spoke (fig. 62). In fact, early iconography of the Annunciation depicts a standing angel addressing a seated Virgin, often even seen before architectural elements, for example, in the apse of the Basilica Eufrasiana (fig. 63), in Parenzo, on the cathedra of Bishop Maximianus, Ravenna (fig. 64), and on

[74] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 167.

several early ivories.[75]

Thus, the upper zone of the triumphal arch contains the fulfillment of the spiritual promise made to Abraham. The Incarnation of Christ accomplishes the perfection of the covenant with Abraham and constitutes the climax in the history of the City of God. The mystery of the Incarnation and the Messianic character of the child were attested to by the various witnesses and scenic details attendant in the Espousal of His parents and the Annunciation to Mary. Abraham and Sarah, the parents of the first child of promise, are prototypes of the birth by divine grace. The prophets present constitute those who attested to the coming of Christ and a new covenant. The priests are those of the line of Aaron who recognized the Messiah and ceded to His divinity, the Ecclesia ex Circumcisione. The temple, with its many-faceted iconography, figures the Temple of Solomon, symbolic of the old covenant, and the House of God built by Christ of men and symbolic of the new covenant. It also symbolizes Christ, the Incarnate Logos, by virtue of its references to Wisdom enthroned in the Temple of Solomon. All these elements find their origin in Augustine's De Civitate Dei, books 16 and 17.

[75]Maximianus' cathedra, Ravenna (Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, cat. no. 140); other ivories (ibid., 128, 130, 140, 142, 217, 251); also a Byzantine textile in the Vatican (Atlas, fig. 256); and a beautiful XIV-century icon from St. Clement, Ochrid, now in Skopolje (D. Talbot-Rice, The Art of Byzantium (London, 1959), pl. 41).

3. The Adoration of the Magi

The second zone contains two scenes in the early life of Christ. The left half of the zone is dominated by the small figure of the Christ-child sitting on a large encrusted throne. If not physically preponderant, He is emphasized by the free space to either side of His small figure. His physical isolation contrasts with the near-crowding of the other figures, who often overlap one another. The Visit of the Magi is the scriptural event behind this unique iconography. For while other contemporary Adorations depict the Magi coming to the child held on His mother's lap, this one isolates the child from His mother and the Magi. Only the four angels, placed behind the throne, could come into physical contact with the child. The four may be identified as the Old Testament trinity which appeared at Mamre plus Gabriel.

Sharing the physical center of the oddly-shaped field is the Virgin Mary. Veiled and dressed in dark robes, with a gold undertunic, she sits on her own small throne to the right of that of her son. She sits directly under the figure of Sarah in the upper zone. A further detail which grants this solemn mother significance is the fact that two of the four angels appear to point to her. They may be explaining to the Magi the Nativity and the Incarnation.

To the other side of the enthroned child appears the

woman in gold dalmatic. Extensive repairs account for her strange anatomy, odd seated position, and small head. On analogy with similar figures on the upper zone, she is to be identified as Sarah. She and Abraham, the latter once to be found in the place of Pianigiani's Joseph, witness the first public appearance of the child descended from them. The king has come forth from their seed as promised by God (Genesis 17.6) and He has begun His appeal to all the nations, as represented by the three Magi, a mission their son Isaac prefigured, according to Augustine.[76]

The Magi, also highly restored, bear their gifts to the child. Two stand meekly to the right of Mary, the third, entirely modern but for his right arm, stands at the side of Sarah and points to the star of Bethlehem over the head of Christ:

> '. . . Hic ille rex est gentium
> populique rex Iudaici,
> promissus Abrahae patri
> eiusque in aevum semini.
> aequanda nam stellis sua
> cognovit olim germina
> primus sator credentium,
> nati immolatur unici.
> iam flos subit Daviticus
> radice Iessea editus,
> sceptrique per virgam virens
> rerum cacumen occupat.'

[76]Cf. Civ. Dei 16.26, see above Chapter IV, 79 f.

fixis in altum vultibus,
qua stella sulcum traxerat
claramque signabat viam.
sed verticem pueri supra
signum pependit inminens,
pronaque submissum face
caput sacratum prodidit.[77]

4. David and Solomon

Across the opening of the arch and the recognition of the divine child by the oriental and Gentile kings, is a scene in which the Christ-child, His protoparents and four angels are confronted by two men, one clad as a Byzantine official, the second, a bare-chested philosopher-type (figs. 58, 65). If the theme established in the Adoration holds for this half of the zone, the subject matter is the recognition of the divinity of Christ by other branches of humankind. Continuing the reverse typological structure which runs through the arch, it is not necessary that these men be contemporaries of Christ, nor need they have figured in the Gospels. They may have preceded Him in time and spoken of Him prophetically.

A youthful figure wears traditional Byzantine official vestments, a knee-length under-tunic, gold-embroidered at the hem, and a chlamys of blue and purple, with a gold tabula inset, fixed at his right shoulder by a fibula. Such

[77]Prudentius, Liber Cathemerinon, Hymnus Epiphaniae, XII, lines 41-60 (Loeb, I, 104 ff.).

chlamys are seen in Byzantine art from the late fourth century on, worn by emperors, consular or legal officials (see the diptych of Probus and the judges in the trial scene of the Rossano Gospels) and saints (e.g., Demetrius in H. Demetrios, Salonika). They are also worn by imperial figures of the Old Testament, for instance, David as he appears in the Rossano Gospels (fig. 66) or on the seventh century silver plates found on Cyprus (fig. 67). The diadem worn by the figure on the arch marks him as a regal figure rather than an official.

Following the demands of the program, this imperial iconography may well mark the figure of David, the most important king of the Jews who stood midway in the generations of Christ. However, this assertion must be supported in order to allay the confidence in the Aphrodisias identification. The person and figure of David is of great significance to Augustine. He devotes most of the seventeenth book of De Civitate Dei to David and Solomon, and their relation to Christ and the Church. David's kingship and the promises made to him, his psalms and his very person are prophetic of Christ and treated as such by Augustine:

> Regnavit ergo David in terrena Hierusalem, filius caelestis Hierusalem, divino multum testimonio praedicatus, quia et delicta eius tanta pietate superata sunt . . . (Civ. Dei 17.20)[78]

[78] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 257.

David's earthly kingship is thus a typological partner to Christ's eternal and celestial rule.[79] Moreover, certain institutions in his rule were of prophetic value, Augustine notes, for the transformation of kingship and priesthood from Saul and Eli to David and Solomon was symbolic of the combination of those roles in the new covenant of the priest-king Christ. Thus, the rule of David marks a juncture in the prophetic part of the history of the City of God:

> Procursus igitur civitatis Dei ubi pervenit ad regum tempora, quando David Saule reprobato ita regnum primus obtinuit, ut eius deinde posteri in terrena Hierusalem diuturna successione regnarent, dedit figuram, re gesta significans adque praenuntians, quod non est praetereundum silentio, de rerum mutatione futurarum, quod adtinet ad duo testamenta, vetus et novum, ubi sacerdotium regnumque mutatum est per sacerdotem eundemque regem novum ac sempiternum, qui est Christus Iesus. Nam et Heli sacerdote reprobato substitutus in Dei ministerium Samuel simul officio functus sacerdotis et iudicis, et Saule abiecto rex David fundatus in regno hoc quod dico figuraverunt. (Civ. Dei 17.4)[80]

With David a new era began, "et exordium quodam modo iuventutis populi Dei," with David, "cuius maxime Christus dictus est filius."[81] To David, God promised a majestic heir:

[79] Similarly in De Catechizandis Rudibus 20.36 Augustine wrote: "Hujus civitatis rex est Dominus Jesus Christus, Verbum Dei quo reguntur summi Angeli, et Verbum hominem assumens ut eo regerentur et homines, qui simul omnes cum illo in aeterna pace regnabunt. Ad hujus regis praefigurationem in illo terreno regno populi Israel maxime eminuit rex David, de cujus semine secundum carnem veniret verissimus rex noster Dominus Jesus Christus . . . Multa in illa terra promissionis gesta sunt in figuram venturi Christi et Ecclesiae . . .," (M.P.L. 40, 336).

[80] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 210

[81] Civ. Dei 16.43 (C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 203).

> When your days are fulfilled . . . . I will raise up your offspring after you . . . and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. I will be his father and he shall be my son.
>
> II Samuel 7.12-14

This promised offspring appeared to be Solomon, but he was only a figure of Christ:

> . . . in exordio regni sui mirabiliter laudibus fuit; sed eadem sua persona per umbram futuri praenuntiabat etiam ipse Christum Dominum non exhibebat.
>
> (Civ. Dei 17.8)[82]

Christ is the promised offspring and heir of David. Augustine dwells on this in a chapter entitled "de promissionibus ad David in filio eius, quae nullatenus in Salomone, sed plenissime inveniuntur in Christo." Further, Augustine writes that the Jews realized that this promise was not fulfilled with Solomon, but only with the Messiah:

> Nam et ipsi usque adeo filium, quem loco isto regi David promissum legunt, intellegunt non fuisse Salomonem, ut eo, qui promissus est tanta iam manifestatione, declarato adhuc mirabili caecitate alium sperare se dicant.
>
> (Civ. Dei 17.8)[83]

David had particular intimacy with the Lord as is revealed in his being chosen from amidst his flock to advise and then succeed King Saul,[84] by the blessings he received from and

[82] Ibid., 234.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Augustine notes this in his commentary on the prophecies of Ezekiel, Civ. Dei 18.34.

and the covenants he made with God, and their mutual praises sung in Psalms. In particular, Psalm 89 expresses the Lord's intimacy with David and his special honor and protection. Augustine writes of this psalm:

> Quae omnia de Domino Iesu intelleguntur, quando recte intelleguntur, sub nomine David propter formam servi, quam de semine David idem Mediator adsumsit ex virgine.
>
> (Civ. Dei 17.9)[85]

David's special relationship with the Lord made of him a prophet, and his prophetic powers are, according to Augustine, manifest in his psalms:

> Erat autem David vir in canticis eruditus, qui harmoniam musicam non vulgari voluptate, sed fideli voluntate dilexerit eaque Deo suo, qui verus est Deus, mystica rei magnae figuratione servierit . . . Denique omnis fere prophetia eius in psalmis est . . .
>
> (Civ. Dei 17.14)[86]

He would like to proceed with an examination of the prophetic material in David's songs but is prevented from satisfying this objective by the richness of the material. He then passes several chapters analyzing a number of psalms, but his major work on the psalms is his Enarrationes in Psalmos.[87]

[85] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 236.

[86] Ibid., 245. Augustine attributes all the psalms to David, including those under different authorship: "Neque enim non potuit propheticus spiritus prophetanti regi David haec etiam futurorum prophetarum nomina revelare ut aliquid, quod eorum personae conveniret, prophetice cantaretur . . ." (ibid., 246).

[87] Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 39-40 (Turnholti, 1956).

David was, therefore, not only promised a messianic offspring; he knew Him through prophecy and wrote of Him. Augustine's evaluation of David is shared with other patristic fathers, including his contemporary, Cyril of Alexandria. In his writings on the Psalms, Cyril claimed that David foretold everything from beginning to end, Christ, His life, doctrines, and the events recorded in the New Testament.[88] David, again according to Augustine, foresaw the trouble Christ would have with the very people He had come to save and prophesied it in various psalms; Augustine pieces these verses together in De Civitate Dei 17.16. In the same chapter, Augustine credits David with foreseeing Christ's acceptance by the Gentiles in Psalm 18.43 f.: "Thou didst deliver me from strife with the peoples; thou didst make me the head of the nations; people whom I had not known served me. As soon as they heard of me they obeyed me."

It is thus as a king whose rule and figure were prophetic and as a prophet who spoke of Christ and His Church that David appears on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore. In acknowledging the Christ-child, David certifies His messianic character. He stands symbolically for those Jews who accepted Christ, the Ecclesia ex Circumcisione. King of terrestrial Jerusalem, he cedes to the eternal king

[88] A. Kerrigan, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Interpreter of the Old Testament (Rome, 1952), 230 ff., with appropriate references.

of heavenly Jerusalem his throne and his kingdom, both currently held by the Roman usurper, Herod. He thus balances the Adoration scene, symbolic of the Ecclesia ex Gentibus.

To the right of David stands a tall and massive figure, wearing a toga carried over his left shoulder. Dark-haired and bearded, the man looks to and gestures at Christ. The area between this figure and the outermost figure of the group around Christ suffered considerable damage through loss of tesserae and subsequent installation of clamps. As a consequence, the left contour of this figure has been poorly restored, granting him a long staff, which he incongruously carries in his covered hand.

The identity of this figure must conform to the recognition theme of the zone. Clad in the robes of a philosopher and holding a gnarled stick, he has been identified as a Cynic.[89] Yet, the accuracy of this interpretation may be questioned on two grounds. First, the originality of the attribute may be challenged considering its odd relation to his covered hand; second, a small dog, traditional companion of a Cynic, has not found its way onto the arch.[90] The

[89]Brodsky refutes this thesis, "L'Iconographie oubliee . . .," 1966, 88 ff.

[90]"Diogene di Sinope," Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica III, 105 f. To indicate the lack of specificity in the features of this figure, compare the following philosopher portraits in classical art, all of whom share the bare chest, beard, staff, and pallium: bronze relief of Aspasia and Socrates, Museo Nazionale, Naples (H. Fuhrmann, "Gespräche über Liebe und Ehe auf Bildern des Altertums," Röm. Mitt. 55

identification may, therefore, be unjustified, granting too much specificity to a figure clad in the robes of learning.

The philosopher may simply personify learned Greece, the Greece who renders homage to Christ, as noted by Prudentius:

> . . . tempus adest quo templum hominis sub pectore Christus aedificet, quod Graia colant, quod barbara ditent.[91]

Or he may be a soothsayer or a prophet who foresaw Christ, whom the same poet adduces in praise of Christ:

> Ecce, quem vates vetustis concinebat saeculis, quem prophetarum fideles paginae spoponderant, emicat promissus olim . . .[92]

The prophets, patristic authors are fond of noting, antedate the greatest of Greek philosophers. The Old Testament and Christian pre-history are older than the civilization of Greece. Augustine credits to the prophetic era the initiation of Greek philosophy (Civ. Dei 18.37). The earliest of the sages did not even antedate Moses,

> qui unum verum Deum veraciter praedicavit, cuius nunc scripta in auctoritatis canone prima sunt.[93]

(1940), 78 ff.; philosopher mosaic from Torre Annunziata, Museo Nazionale, Naples (O. Brendel, "Symbolik der Kugel," Röm. Mitt. 51 (1936), 1 ff.); philosopher mosaic, Villa Albani, Rome (ibid.); Menedemos of Eretria, fresco in Villa of Boscoreale, Museo Nazionale, Naples (Schefold, Die Bildnisse der Antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker (Basel, 1943), 132); seven wise men sarcophagus, Museo Torlonia, Rome (ibid., 182 f., fig. 3).

[91] See above, note 65.

[92] Prudentius, Liber Cathemerinon, Hymnus omnis Horae, IX, lines 25-27 (Loeb, I, 76 ff.).

[93] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 327.

Despite certain truthful statements, Augustine can find no unity in Greek philosophy and finds their sole object--to discover the best way of adjusting lives to the pursuit of happiness--wasteful.[94] The different and contrary views of Greek philosophy he contrasts to the harmony of Scriptures:

> . . . auctores nostri . . . non . . . inter se aliqua ratione dissentiant. Unde non inmerito, cum illa scriberent, eis Deum vel per eos locutum, non pauci in scholis adque gymnasiis litigiosis disputationibus garruli, sed in agris adque urbibus cum doctis adque indoctis tot tantique populi crediderunt.
> (Civ. Dei 18.41)[95]

A second criticism Augustine has of Greek philosophy is the granting of equal privilege to all its practitioners. For this lack of discrimination he can call Athens by the symbolic name Babylon, meaning confusion. On the other hand, neither disagreement nor uncritical acceptance of statements purporting to be the truth were tolerated in the City of God:

> At vero gens illa, ille populus, illa civitas, illa res publica, illi Israelitae, quibus credita sunt eloquia Dei, nullo modo pseudoprophetas cum veris prophetis parilitate licentiae confuderunt, sed concordes inter se adque in nullo dissentientes sacrarum litterarum veraces ab eis agnoscebantur et tenebantur auctores. Ipsi eis erant philosophi, hoc

[94] Civ. Dei 18.41.

[95] C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 332.

> est amatores sapientiae, ipsi sapientes, ipsi theologi, ipsi prophetae, ipsi doctores probitatis adque pietatis.
>
> (Civ. Dei 18.41)[96]

Augustine terms prophets philosophers for their love of wisdom, the wisdom of God which they uttered and wrote on divine inspiration and in complete agreement with one another.

It may, therefore, be that the philosopher standing beside David is a personification of the Old Testament prophets, "amatores sapientiae," whose christological oracles and prophecies Augustine details in De Civitate Dei 18. Like David, Abraham and the nave cycle, a personification of a prophet standing in recognition of Christ would augment the theme of the harmony of the two testaments and testify to the anticipated perfection of God's covenant and promises in the Advent of the Logos incarnate in the flesh of the line of David.

Going a step further, he may embody all these qualities and still have a specific identity. The philosopher-figure may be that Old Testament figure reputed above all others for his wisdom, that is, King Solomon. As a lover of wisdom as the reputed author of Wisdom literature, Solomon figures as a Hebrew philosopher. Yet, like his father David, he has undergone a superficial modification in the iconography of the triumphal arch. As David, the Old Testament king par excellence is clothed in the vestments of a

[96] Ibid., 334.

Roman or Byzantine emperor, so his son, the Old Testament lover of wisdom, is given the aspect of an ancient sage. Despite his unconventional appearance, the identification of this figure as Solomon accords with the reverse typological demonstrations of the arch and has its probable source in the importance given Solomon by Augustine, both in his prophetic figure and the temporal importance of his rule.

5. The Massacre of the Innocents, Herod and the Priests

Two scenes centering on Herod's revenge on the King born to the Jews complete the narrative decoration of the arch in the third zone. In the much restored left spandrel, the Massacre of the Innocents is about to begin as a soldierly delegate reaches across his body for a baby held in the arms of a woman to his left. A nimbed Herod sits on his throne giving orders to the soldier.

Across the arch opening, an earlier scene is depicted. The three Magi appear before Herod, asking

> "Where is he who has been born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and have come to worship him." When Herod the king heard this, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him; and assembling all the chief priests and scribes of the people, he inquired of them where the Christ was to be born . . .
>
> Matthew 2.2-4

The Herod scenes are an intimate part of the Epiphany narrative. As one theologian wrote,

> ce ne sont là que deux aspects d'une même réalité. les Mages adorent le mystère de l'union hypostatique, Hérode le méconnait; le Christ est manifesté comme vrai roi aux royaumes de l'Orient dans le personne des Mages, et à l'Empire romain dans la personne d'Hérode.[97]

Matthew wrote of the fulfillment of several prophecies in his narration of the Epiphany. The ruler of Israel has come, as Micah and others predicted, and as the Magi told Herod. In his revenge, Herod fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, "A voice was heard in Ramah, wailing and loud lamentation . . ." (Jeremiah 31.15 ff., Matthew 2.17 ff.).

The blindness and frustration of Herod and the priests to the Messiah symbolize that of the Roman Empire and the seed of Abraham who do not accept Christ. They neither acknowledge divine sign--the star of Bethlehem, nor prophecy, though they are informed of these witnesses. They stand in contrast to the Magi, Christ's first worshippers, and the infants, His first martyrs.

F. Conclusion

The three figurative zones of the triumphal arch present in their unique iconographical composition three interdependent themes. The first perfected in the coming of Christ completes the thematic program initiated in the nave, that of the fulfillment of the divine promises made

[97] J. Leclerq, Introduction, Léon le Grand. Sermons, I, S. Chrét, 22 bis, 2nd. ed. (Paris, 1964), 13.

to Abraham. The importance of this promise in the prophetic history of the City of God is underlined by the presence of David, Solomon, priests, and prophets to whom the messianic promise was reiterated or who in some aspect of their lives prefigured the Messiah. The cast of Old Testament characters witnessing the Advent of Christ implicitly contains the second theme, that of the unity of the two testaments. For not only in His messianic role was Christ anticipated, but many of the historical events of His life and the sacramental institutions and spiritual modes He initiated were foretold in the Old Testament, as the panels of the nave demonstrate. The Incarnation of the Logos, the third theme of the arch, is both prophetically and symbolically expressed. The pregnancy of Sarah, accomplished by divine gift, prefigures that of Mary, each mother giving birth to a child of promise secundum spiritum. Then on a symbolic level, the union of the divine essence in human flesh is presented in the image of the temple, in which the Logos as Divine Wisdom lodges.

Two of these themes have their origin in De Civitate Dei; the third, though not a primary concern of Augustine, owes its iconography to De Civitate Dei. The coming of Christ, fulfilling the spiritual promise, completes the underlying theme of the mosaic program of Santa Maria Maggiore, the perfection of the three promises to Abraham

as distinguished by Augustine in De Civitate Dei 16.16-21. The second, the harmony of the two testaments, is a theme intrinsic to Augustine's concept of the City of God. And last, the images employed to express the Incarnation have been shown to reflect figures and statements employed by Augustine even though the mystery of the Incarnation was not an essential demonstration of De Civitate Dei.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGINS OF THE PROGRAM

As the exposition of the triumphal arch has established, three themes dominate its iconography. The first partakes of the overall theme of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, the perfection of promises made to Abraham. It is essentially a demonstration of the second theme, the harmony of the two testaments. Likewise, the harmony of the two testaments is employed to pictorialize the third theme, that of the Incarnation. The City of God, past and present, prophetic and real, is a metaphor through which these themes are expressed. Interacting by means of typology and reverse typology, the themes reveal their complementary relationship. The interaction and mutual dependence of the themes, and in particular the novel and significant appearance of Old Testament figures in a christological cycle, is neither accidental nor inconsequential. The Incarnation and harmony themes, in particular, lead us back into the realm of ecclesiastical doctrine and theological dispute; doctrinal issues, they command us to consider the historical context in which the mosaics evolved. Contemporary to the decoration of Santa Maria

Maggiore, crises occurred within the Church which these two themes reflect. In the Church's reaction to these crises may then lie the motivations which accomplished the innovative pictorial decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore.

The mystery of the Incarnation and its attendent precision of the nature of the union of the divine and human elements in Christ return us to the Council of Ephesus and the Nestorian heresy as a start. The second theme, in which the two testaments authenticate one another, places us in the middle of another heresy, that of the Manicheans. The Nestorians, as previously stated, in reaction to Apollinarism and other post-Arian heresies, denied the Incarnation of the Logos in the womb of the Virgin Mary.[1] They would not admit the birth, the childhood, and the suffering and death of the Godhead. They were thus required to offer another definition of the indwelling of the Logos in the flesh of the man, Christ. This elicited in orthodox and heretical response continuous and increasing refinement of the explanation of the Incarnation for a period of twenty years following the Council of Ephesus. The issue was solved only at the Council of Chalcedon, convoked in 451 by the Emperor Marcian, on the petition of Pope Leo. Chalcedon reversed the proceedings of the Latrocinium, or Robber Council of Ephesus of 449,

[1]See above, Chapter V, 101 ff.

in which the Eutychian definition of Incarnation, a heretical one, had been approved.[2]

Eutyches, the head of a monastery in Constantinople, in response to the Nestorian heresy, fell into another which denied Christ His double nature. This heresy was brought to the attention of Bishop Flavian of Constantinople, who attempted in a local synod to bring the heretic into line. Flavian's report to Leo in the Spring of 449 concerning the latest christological problem elicited from the latter his "Tome,"[3] a letter to Flavian which he expected to be read at the synod to be convened shortly by Theodosius II at Ephesus. Since the Emperor favored Eutyches neither was the position of Flavian respected nor the letter of Leo read. Eutyches was restored to his office, Flavian deposed, and heresy persisted. Two years later, following the deaths of Theodosius II and Flavian, a new synod was convoked at Leo's request. Chalcedon succeeded in adopting Leo's definition of the union of the two natures in Christ in a single person, the so-called "hypostatic union."[4]

[2]"Léon Ier," D.T.C. IX.1, 245 ff., Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums, I, 462 ff., Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, II, 289 ff., M. Jugie, "Eutychès et Eutychianisme," D.T.C. V.2, 1582 ff.

[3]Epistle 28 (M.P.L. 54, 755 ff.).

[4]This definition maintained that the Logos was joined to flesh in Mary's womb in a substantial manner. Despite their union, the human and divine natures each retained their essential character: "Salva . . . proprietate utriusque naturae et substantiae, et in unam coeunte personam, suscepta

The Incarnation theme pictorialized on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore need not, therefore, make exclusive reference to the Nestorian controversy, the Council of Ephesus, and ecclesiastical and dogmatic difficulties of the early 430s, for the Incarnation issue continued to occupy the Church for another two decades. Second, the absence of the second concern of Ephesus, that of the Theotokos, from both the dedication of Sixtus as well as the iconography of the arch, casts further doubt on the commonly-accepted Ephesine interpretation. The iconography does not contradict Ephesus; it may simply be non-Ephesine, conceived in accordance with another defense of the Incarnation doctrine required within the next twenty years.

The presentation of the Incarnation theme on the arch, in part in a reverse-typological method, is indicative of

---

est a majestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas" (ibid., 763) and "tenet enim sine defectu proprietatem suam utraque natura . . ." (ibid., 765). Christ was true man and true God: "Qui enim verus est Deus, idem verus est homo" (ibid., 767); neither was changed by the union: ". . . sicut enim Deus non mutatur miseratione, ita homo non consumitur dignitate" (ibid.). Each did what was proper to his nature: "Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione, quod proprium est; Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exsequente quod carnis est" (ibid.). Further the Tome explains the Incarnation as Christ's way to pay our debt: "et ad resolvendum conditionis nostrae debitum, natura inviolabilis naturae est unita passibili . . ." (ibid., 763). This union is confirmed by Scripture, both the Old Testament and the New Testament, Leo writes, quoting the applicable passages from Matthew, Paul, Isaiah, and Genesis, the last being the promises to Abraham (ibid., 759-763), cf. A. Michel, "Hypostatique (Union)," D.T.C. VII.1, 478 ff.

an Orthodox position in respect to an heretical attack which the Nestorians did not make. The emphasis on the Old Testament, on prophecy and fulfillment, and the extensive use of typology throughout the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore to demonstrate the harmony of the testaments can only be a constructive response to an attack on the relationship between the testaments, between Christianity and Judaism, and on the identity of their God. That the themes of the harmony of the testaments and the Incarnation of the Logos interact in the program of Santa Maria Maggiore may therefore indicate that the dogmas which they illustrate were under contemporary and identical attack.

The search for a doctrine which challenged both the Incarnation of the Logos and the intimate relationship of the Old and New Testaments is not difficult, nor must we go far in time and space from the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. The answer lies with those Manicheans who, exiled from their North African homes by the Vandal invasion of 428, reconstituted themselves in Rome.[5] Though never great in numbers, their attitudes were insidious enough and their beliefs dangerous enough to provoke in Rome within fifteen years of their exile a severe response by the highest ecclesiastical

[5]For histories of the Manicheans, cf. H. Leclerq, "Manichéisme," D.A.C.L. X.1, 1391 ff., and G. Bardy, "Manichéisme," D.T.C. IX.2, 1841 ff.

authority.

Formulated by the Paraclete Mani in Babylonia in the second half of the third century, Manicheism was a syncretist religion comprised of elements drawn from local Persian cults, Zoroastrianism, Mithraism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Judaism. Its main concerns were a dualism of forces and a definition of the origins of evil. Cosmological in extent, it attempted to provide rational answers to contemporary moral dilemmas through the system of beliefs and the pattern of life it imposed on its followers. An ascetic and itinerant rather than a stable religion, replacing cult worship with individual prayer and obligatory proselytism, the religion spread quickly. The extent of its expansion and nature of its threat to civil as well as religious order are indicated by the law Diocletian decreed against "De maleficis et manicheis" in 296.[6]

The Roman Empire's recognition of Christianity and its subsequent adoption as the official religion occasioned even more rigorous attention to Manicheism. Periodically throughout the fourth century, edicts, laws, and novels were issued to contain Manichean activity and condemn the heretics themselves. In the fifth century, less frequent but harsher

[6] D.A.C.L. X.1, 1397 f.

efforts were made against them.[7] But the Manicheans persisted well into the Middle Ages. Although the religion did not gain many converts, it was a strong threat to Christianity. The nature of its appeal was to the intellectual, not to the common man. Augustine spent a well-known nine years as a member of the sect.[8] Small in number, but mobile and intelligent, the Manicheans threatened Christianity by undermining dogma, synthesizing in their pseudo-Christianity a variety of heresies, Gnostic, Marcionite, Nestorian, and so forth.

Sources on the Manicheans are few; they consist in particular of Orthodox defenses in the form of debate or polemic reaction to Manichean texts.[9] Yet these sources, despite their origin, preserve for us sure indication of the nature of the Manichean challenge.

Reacting out of his own experience--and he never denied the full and convinced enthusiasm he once had for the Manichean sect--Augustine provides us with information on their cosmological systems, soteriological tenets and

[7]The Constantinian dynasty sought information on the Manicheans and urged the conversion of its followers. Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius persecuted them. Laws were promulgated against them in 381-382, 389, 405, 407, 425, 428, and 445, ibid., 1398 f.

[8]Augustine, Confessionum 5.6 (C.S.E.L. 33, ed. P. Knöll (Vienna, 1896), 93).

[9]For an extensive bibliography of Manichean sources, direct, indirect, and lost, cf. D.T.C. IX.2, 1842 ff.

attitudes to life. The number of his anti-Manichean writings and their tenor indicate his acknowledgement of the attraction of this heresy and its attack on the fundamental beliefs of Orthodoxy.[10] In fact, in a list of eighty-eight heresies he compiled for his follower, Quodvultdeus, shortly before his own death in 428, Augustine gives the forty-sixth, Manicheism, the longest entry and provides the most severe defense, due both to the number of its heretical beliefs and the necessity to detail their danger.[11] Nearly a century and a half after the first imperial reaction to it, Manicheism still had not been suppressed. Its list of heretical beliefs, if not the number of its converts, grew and grew.

Though only a part of the Manichean's comprehensive religio-philosophical system had reference to Christian belief, these references attacked Christianity at its heart. By regarding all created matter as evil and crediting the Creation to a Prince of Darkness, they initiated their

[10]Augustine's anti-Manichean writings comprise the following: De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum, De libero arbitrio, De Genesi contra Manichaeos, De vera religione, De utilitate credendi ad Honoratum, De duabus animabus contra Manichaeos, Acta seu disputatio contra Fortunatum, Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum, Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti, Contra Faustum Manichaeum, De actis cum Felice Manichaeo, De natura boni contra Manichaeos, Contra Secundinum Manichaeum (M.P.L. 32. 34, 42). In addition, there are references to and warnings about Manicheans in his other works, for example, Epistle 236 (M.P.L. 33, 1033), and in De Haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum 46 (M.P.L. 42, 34 ff.).

[11]Ibid.

challenge to two essential Judaeo-Christian tenets. The identification of all matter with evil and the refutation of Christ's human nature, constituted a denial of the Incarnation of the Logos, a doctrine Mani challenged with many of the same arguments later used by Nestorius.[12] The identification of the God of the Old Testament with the Prince of Darkness, the denial of the identity of the Old and New Testament God, the total and unreserved condemnation of the Old Testament and the historical Israelites, challenged fundamental Christian doctrine and severed Christianity of both its heroic and prophetic past.

One of the more vivid and concise refutations of those Manichean tenets which were inimical to the Church is to be found in the written response of Leo the Great to a local outbreak of the heresy. In October 443, a scandal erupted in Rome concerning the observations of the Manichean community on which the Pope took immediate and unambiguous action.[13] Declaring himself to be shocked by the tasteless-

[12]Cf. Hegemonius, Acta Archelai LIX (XLVII), in which Mani expresses his abhorence of the doctrine that the Logos was made flesh in Mary's womb (G.C.S. 16, ed. C. H. Beeson (Leipzig, 1906), 79 ff.).

[13]Prosper of Aquitaine recorded in his chronicle the following for the year 443: "Hoc tempore plurimos Manicheos intra urbem latere diligentiae papae Leonis innotuit, qui eos de secretis suis erutos et oculis totius ecclesiae publicatos omnes dogmatis sui turpitudines et damnare fecit et prodere incensis eorum codicibus, quorum magnae moles fuerant interceptae. quae cura viro sancto divinitus, ut apparuit, inspirata non solum Romanae urbi, sed etiam universo

ness of their rituals and fearing the contamination of the Orthodox flock, Leo called a tribunal to judge the few Manicheans involved in the scandal. Then he undertook a campaign to rid his See and the Church of their menace. In a series of sermons delivered on feast days in late 443 and 444, he denounced the Manicheans, publishing clearly to his auditors their heretical principles, beliefs, and errors. He urged the members of his flock to report with Christian zeal any suspicion they might have of Manichean activity.[14] Further he wrote a letter to the bishops of Italy with the same substance and encouraged Valentinian II to issue an edict proscribing the heretics.[15]

In particular, in a sermon delivered on Epiphany in 444, Leo alerted his congregation of the beliefs of the Manicheans, offering a detailed demonstration of their errors. Having

---

orbi plurimum profuit, si quidem confessionibus in urbe captorum qui doctores eorum, qui episcopi quive presbyteri in quibus provinciis vel civitatibus degerent, patefactum sit, multique Orientalium partium sacerdotes industriam apostolici rectoris imitati sunt," (M.G.H., Auct. Ant. IX, Chron. Min., 479). Leo's anti-Manichean writings comprise the following: Epistle VII (M.P.L. 54, 620 ff.), Epistle XV (ibid., 688 ff.), Sermon IX (ibid., 163 and S. Chrét. 49, 14 ff.), Sermon XVI (M.P.L. 54, 178 ff.), Sermon XXIV (M.P.L. 54, 206, S. Chrét. 22 bis, 114 ff.), Sermon XXXIV (M.P.L. 54, 247 f., S. Chrét. 22 bis, 44 ff.), Sermon XLII (M.P.L. 54, 278 ff., S. Chrét. 49, 43 ff.), Sermon LXXVI (M.P.L. 54, 408 f., S. Chrét. 74, 149 f.). Cf. S. Chrét. 22 bis, 115, note 3 and 244, note 3.

[14]Cf. Sermons IX and XVI for this encouragement to the flock while XXIV and in particular XXXIV contain strong denunciations.

[15]Epistle VII, "ad Episcopos per Italiam," 30 Jan. 444 (M.P.L., 54, 620 ff.) and Edict concerning the Manicheans, Epistle VIII, 19 June 445 (ibid., 622 ff., Cod. Theod. Nov. 17).

combined a Epiphany narrative with the doctrinal issues it demonstrates, that is the mystical union of the divine and human natures in Christ, Leo proceeded to a condemnation of those who denied this "sacramentum fidei." For its precise definition of the beliefs of these people, I quote at length Leo's attack:

> Huic singulari fidei, dilectissimi, et praedicatae per omnia saecula veritati diabolica Manichaeorum resistit impietas: qui sibi ad interficiendas deceptorum animas nefandi dogmatis ferale commentum de sacrilegis et fabulosis mendaciis texuerunt, et per has insanarum opinionum ruinas eo usque praecipites proruerunt, ub sibi falsi corporis fingerent Christum, qui nihil in se solidum, nihil verum oculis hominum actionibusque praebuerit; sed simulatae carnis vacuam imaginem demonstrarit. Indignum enim videri volunt, ut credatur Deus Dei Filius femineis se inseruisse visceribus, et majestatem suam huic contumeliae subdidisse, ut naturae carnis immixtus, in vero humanae substantiae corpore nasceretur: cum totum hoc opus non injuria sit ipsius, sed potentia; nec credenda pollutio, sed gloriosa dignatio . . . . quae se ei, quam ad imaginem suam condidit, sociando creaturae purificationem praestitit, maculam non recepit; et sic sanavit vulnera infirmitatis, ut nulla pateretur damna virtutis.
> Quod divinae pietatis magnum et ineffabile sacramentum, quia omnibus sanctarum Scripturarum testificationibus est nuntiatum; isti, de quibus loquimur, adversarii veritatis, legem per Moysen datam et inspirata divinitus prophetarum oracula respuerunt, ipsasque evangelicas et apostolicas paginas, quaedam auferendo et quaedam inserendo violaverunt: confingentes sibi sub apostolorum nominibus, et sub verbis ipsius Salvatoris, multa volumina falsitatis, quibus erroris sui commenta munirent, et decipiendorum mentibus mortiferum virus infunderent. Videbant enim sibi universa obsistere, omnia reclamare, et non solum novo, sed etiam veteri Testamento sacrilegam impietatis suae dementiam confutari. Et tamen in furiosis mendaciis persistentes, Ecclesiam Dei deceptionibus suis perturbare non desinunt: hoc miseris quos illaqueare potuerint persuadentes, ut negent a Domino Jesu Christo humanam naturam vere esse susceptam; negent eum vere pro mundi salute crucifixum; negent de ejus latere lancea vulnerato sanguinem

> redemptionis et aquam fluxisse baptismatis; negent eum sepultum, ac die tertia suscitatum; negent eum in conspectu discipulorum ad considendum in dextera Patris super omnes caelorum altitudines elevatum; et ut tota apostolici veritate Symboli sublata, nullus metus terreat impios, nulla spes incitet sanctos, negent a Christo vivos et mortuos judicandos: ut quos tantorum sacramentorum virtute privaverint, doceant in sole et luna colere Christum, et sub nomine Spiritus sancti ipsum talium impietatum magistrum adorare Manichaeum.[16]

The Manicheans, we are informed in this passage, deny the human nature of Christ and the Virgin birth. His corporality was but an illusion, for they found the idea of divine corporality as well as residence within a human womb repulsive. They reject the entire Old Testament, including the story of Creation, the law and writings of Moses and all the prophets. Likewise, they both suppressed and altered passages of the New Testament which did not conform to their beliefs, inserting sections in support of their principles. Last, Leo writes, they, in their rejection of Christ's human nature, reject the Passion, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension.

Thus, among the Orthodox teachings which the Manicheans denied were the principal themes which are emphasized on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore, the Incarnation of the Logos and the harmony of the Old and New Testaments. Further, their denial of scriptural unity would

[16] In Epiphaniae Solemnitate Sermo IV.4 (S. Chrét. 22 bis, 244 ff.).

challenge the typological theme of the nave panels, and their total rejection of the writings of Moses would entirely cancel the nave cycle.

Were it not for the common attribution of the triumphal arch to Sixtus, an attribution supported by inscription and archeology, one could present simply a strong case for the origins of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore: one could propose that the mosaics were installed by Pope Leo as a part of his campaign of public instruction on those Orthodox doctrines attacked by the Manicheans. But the inscription on the arch, plus that once on the entry wall, plus the testimony of the Liber Pontificalis, the letter of Hadrian and archeological evidence have established a situation undeniably in Sixtus' favor and iconographically Ephesine. There are, however, three approaches by which the Sixtine tradition may be challenged and support extended to the hypothesized Leonine-anti-Manichean program. The first is Leo's relation to Sixtus and his role during Sixtus' pontificate. The second is Leo's undertakings in the realm of church decoration, and the third is his doctrinal concerns as pope.

Though our source material on Leo is limited, the issues he confronted and the nature and power of his approach to religious and political events have enabled scholars to flesh out the literary record.[17] A native of Tuscany, he

[17] L.P. I, 238-241, Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums, I,

held the Chair of St. Peter for twenty-one years, capping a career which prior to this distinction was marked by high position and unceasing labor in behalf of Church unity, the Orthodox dogma and the primacy of Rome.

The confidant of Popes Celestine and Sixtus, Leo was in fact Sixtus' archdeacon, his second-in-command.[18] As early as 430, his reputation and power were known from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. In 430 he suggested, or ordered, that John Cassian, the Provençal monk who had once been a deacon in Constantinople and who knew the Nestorian writings in the original Greek, write for the edification of Rome a book against these heretics. Thus, John dedicated his De Incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium to Leo.[19] A year later, a letter from Cyril of Alexandria appealed to Leo to warn Rome against the activities of Juvenal of Jerusalem.[20] And in another doctrinal issue disturbing Sixtus' reign, Leo stood in the middle of the offensive against the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians.[21] As further

---

423, ff., and Batiffol's article in D.T.C. IX.1, 218 ff.

[18]Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums, I, 424.

[19]"Sed vicisti propositum ac sententiam meam laudabili studio et imperiosissimo affectu tuo, mi Leo, veneranda ac suspicienda caritas mea . . .," Praefatio (C.S.E.L. 17.1, ed. M. Petschenig (Vienna, 1888), 235).

[20]Cf. Leo, Epistle CXIX.4 (M.P.L. 54, 1043), D.T.C. IX.1, 219, Caspar Geschichte des Papsttums, I, 424.

[21]D.T.C. IX.1, 219 f.

evidence of his stature and efficacy, he was sent to Gaul in 440 to solve a political dispute between Aetius and Albinus. It was during this mission that Sixtus died and Leo was unanimously elected pope.[22]

In addition to aiding Sixtus in doctrinal and political issues, Leo has been shown to have ghosted one of that pope's major humanistic enterprises. The baptistery of the Lateran was rebuilt during Sixtus' pontificate,

> Hic constituit columnas in baptisterium basilicae Constantinianae . . . ex metallo purphyretico numero VIII, quas erexit cum epistolis suis et versibus exornavit.[23]

Yet Sixtus was not its motive force. By an analysis of the verses carved on the font's architrave, Underwood has attributed their authorship to Leo, for the rhetoric and concerns characteristic of his letters and sermons are epitomized in the distychs.[24] It makes probable the fact, Underwood concluded, that Leo was responsible as well for the architectural and iconographic conception of the Baptistery.

[22]Prosper, a. 440: "Defuncto Xysto episcopo XL amplius diebus Romana ecclesia sine antistite fuit, mirabili pace atque patientia praesentiam diaconi Leonis expectans, quem tunc inter Aetium et Albinum amicitias redintegrantem Galliae detinebant, quasi ideo longius esset abductus, ut et electi meritum et eligentium iudicium probaretur. Igitur Leo diaconus legatione publica accitus et guadenti patriae praesentatus XLIII Romanae ecclesiae episcopus ordinatur," (M.G.H., Auct. Ant., IX, Chron. Min., 478). Cf. Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums, I, 424 f.

[23]L.P. I, 234.

[24]P. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," D. O. Papers 5 (1950), 56 ff.

The activity of Leo at the Lateran baptistery introduces another facet of his ecclesiastical interests. He was responsible not only for the restoration and redecoration of churches damaged by natural phenomenon and barbarian attack,[25] but he installed in at least two roman basilicas extensive pictorial cycles. Notice of his activity in the two apostolic memoriae, S. Pietro in Vaticano and S. Paolo f.l.m., is contained in various inscriptions found in the churches and in the letter of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne.[26] Though these cycles are known to us only through seventeenth century drawings, at which time they had undergone 1200 years of wear and repair, they demonstrate a fundamental similarity with the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore.

Let us begin with the decoration of S. Paolo. The

[25]The L.P. begins to provide us with an estimate of Leo's enterprise: "Hic renovavit post cladem Wandalicam omnia ministeria sacrata argentea per omnes titulos, conflatas hydrias VI basilicae Constantinianae, duas basilicae beati Petri apostoli, duas beati Pauli apostoli, quas Constantinus Augustus obtulit, qui pens. sing. lib. centenas; de quas omnia vasa renovavit sacrata. Hic renovavit basilicam beati Petri apostoli [et cameram] et beati Pauli post ignem divinum renovavit. Fecit vero cameram in basilica Constantiniana. Fecit autem basilicam beato Cornelio episcopo et martyri, iuxta cymiterium Calisti, via Appia . . .," 239.

[26]Hadrian wrote: "Itemque de sancto quarto concilio, egregius atque mirificus praedicator sanctus Leo papa et ipse fecit ecclesias, quas in musivo et diversis historiis seu imaginibus pingens decoravit. Magis autem in basilica beati Pauli apostoli, arcum ibidem majorem faciens, et in musivo depingens Salvatorem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, seu viginti quatuor seniores, nomine suo versibus decoravit: et a tunc usque hactenus fideliter a nobis venerantur" (M.P.L. 98, 1285).

letter of Hadrian informs us that Leo was responsible for the apocalyptic iconography of the arch, a composition which survived in its main lines into the nineteenth century, perishing in a fire which destroyed the basilica.[27] Likewise an inscription left by the patrons or donors of the arch, Theodosius and Galla Placidia, records Leo's interest and permits a date of the arch decoration of ca. 440-450.[28] Sketched twice in the seventeenth century and reconstructed from this record, the iconography of the arch, in a two-zone composition, comprises a bust of Christ in a mandorla at the apex of the arch.[29] To either side, in symmetrical disposition, are a small angel and twelve elders, inclining and bearing crowns. In the sky above are the four beasts of the Apocalypse. The apostles, Peter at the left, and Paul at the right, stand in the lower zone.

On the basis of Leo's patronage of the arch, the nave cycle of Old and New Testament decorations has been

[27]The fire was in July 1823. For a reconstruction of the arch, cf. Waetzoldt, "Zur Ikonographie des Triumphbogenmosaiks von St. Paul in Rom," Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae zu Ehren von L. Bruhns, F.G.W. Metternich, L. Schudt (Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 16) (Munich, 1961), 19 ff.

[28]"Theodosius coepit perfecit Honorius aulam/Doctoris mundi sacrata corpori Pauli./Placidiae pia mens operis decus omne paterni/gaudet pontificis studio splendere Leonis," Diehl, I.L.C.V. I, 342, no. 1761 a, b.

[29]Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, pl. LXVIII, cf. also Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 139-140 (Waetzoldt, Kopien, cat. no. 835, fig. 453).

attributed to him.[30] Though documentary evidence is lacking, there is not a strong reason to doubt this attribution. Medallions with portraits of the popes were painted in the spandrels of the colonnade. Between entablature and windows on the clerestorey walls were two superimposed rows of twenty-one panels each. Above the panels and between the windows were full-length portraits of prophets and patriarchs. The cyclical decoration and the portraits were drawn in 1634 and are preserved in Cod. Barb. lat. 4406.[31] The right nave elevation contained in the upper register a Genesis narrative running from the Separation of Light and Dark at the apse end through the Dream of Joseph. Starting at the apse, the lower register continued with the Dream of Joseph, ending with the Death of the Egyptian firstborn in

[30] J. Garber draws a distinction between the terms used by Hadrian in his letter; "diversis historiis et imaginibus" he takes to refer to the cyclical decoration, while the arch composition is more precisely described in Hadrian's next sentence, Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters-und Pauls-Basiliken in Rom (Berlin, Vienna, 1918), 4 f. (henceforth Garber, Wirkungen). John White, whose study of the Cavallini restoration of the lost fresco cycle is, to date, the only study of the cycle, accepts this Leonine attribution, "Cavallini and the Lost Frescoes in S. Paolo," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 19 (1956), 84 ff. Others accepting the Leonine thesis include W Köhler, Die Karolingischen Miniaturen: Die Schule von Tours I.2 (Berlin, 1933), 183 ff., Waetzoldt, Kopien, 56, A. Weis, "Die römische Schopfungszyklus des 5. Jh. in Triclinium Neons zu Ravenna," Tortulae (R.Q. Schr. Supplementheft 30), (1966), 305 ff. Wilpert's attribution to Formosus has met little seconding, RMM, I, 580 ff.

[31] Waetzoldt, Kopien, 55 ff., and Garber, Wirkungen, 3 ff. for a description of the MS and its distribution in reconstructing the basilical decoration.

Exodus.[32] The left wall illustrated the Acts of the Apostles, in particular the career of St. Paul.[33]

The Liber Pontificalis affirms but does not specify Leo's activity at S. Pietro: "Hic renovavit basilicam beati Petri."[34] An inscription preserved from the facade records Leo's involvement in the execution of its pictorial composition,[35] significantly, a mosaic of the Apocalypse, like that in fresco on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo. Here, too, as we know from drawings, twenty-four elders acclaimed Christ and the Agnus Dei in the company of the four beasts,

[32]Vatican Barb. lat. 4406, fols. 23-60 (Waetzoldt, Kopien, 56 ff., cat. nos. 590 ff., figs. 328 ff.). White determined that of the twenty-one bays on this wall, the first fourteen were restored by Cavallini while the seven nearest the entry retained their Early Christian character, "Cavallini and the Lost Frescoes," 88 ff. Of a possible fourteen compositions in these unrestored bays, ten survived and were sketched in 1634: Abraham departing for sacrifice (fol. 37), Sacrifice of Isaac (38), Isaac blessing Jacob (39), Jacob's Dream (40), Moses changes water (55), Plague of Mosquitoes (56), Hail kills cattle (57), Hail kills people (58), Plague of locusts (59), Death to Egyptian first-born (60). Only one of these panels finds a mate preserved in Santa Maria Maggiore, that is, the blessing of Jacob. The differences in composition are considerable. It is regrettable that other pairs have not survived.

[33]Vatican, Barb. lat. 4406, fols. 87-128 (Waetzoldt, Kopien, 58 ff., cat. nos. 628 ff., figs. 366 ff.).

[34]L.P. I, 239.

[35]"Marianus vir ínl. ex. pf. (praet) et cons. ord./cum A(na)stasia inl. fe(m. eius) debita vota/beatissimo Petro apostolo persoluit,/qu(a)e precibus pap(a)e Leonis (m)ei (pro)vocata sunt atq. perfecta," Diehl, I.L.C.V. I, 342, no. 1758.

Peter and Paul.[36]

As at S. Paolo, on the basis of Hadrian's remarks, the cyclical decoration of the nave has been attributed to Leo; this attribution has met little opposition.[37] Sketched by Grimaldi in 1619, only the east (or entry) half of the nave persisted, that is, eleven of an original twenty-three bays.[38] The distribution of the pictorial elements mirrored that of S. Paolo, with papal portraits in roundels above the colonnade, two registers of framed panels on the clerestorey walls, and above, and between the windows, portraits of standing patriarchs. The right or north wall preserved in its upper register eight scenes from the Genesis narrative, Noah through Isaac's blessing of Jacob.[39] The lower

[36]The facade was drawn in a ninth century MS, now in Eaton College Library, Cod. 124 (Waetzoldt, Kopien, cat. no. 884, fig. 473) and again by Taselli, Album, Archivio S. Pietro (ibid., cat. no. 885, fig. 474).

[37]Garber, Wirkungen, 22 ff., though Wilpert, on analogy with the Santa Maria Maggiore cycle, attributed the S. Pietro panels to Liberius, RMM, I, 377 ff.

[38]Grimaldi's sketches and descriptions are found in Barb. lat. 2733 and Album, Archivio S. Pietro. Garber transcribes Grimaldi's description from Barb. lat 2733, fol. 106 ff., in his Wirkungen, 24 ff.

[39]Right wall, Grimaldi, Album, fol. 13 (Waetzoldt, Kopien, cat. no. 931, fig. 484), and Barb. lat. 2733, fol. 109. The fourteen Old Testament scenes preserved in the seventeenth century presented the following subjects: two Noah's arc scenes, Abraham's vision at Mamre, the Expulsion of Hagar, Departure for the Sacrifice, Sacrifice of Isaac, Jacob tells Esau to go hunt, Isaac blesses Jacob, five panels with Moses and Aaron before Pharoah, two scenes of the plague of hail. Only the Vision at Mamre and the blessing

register preserved six scenes depicting Moses and Aaron before Pharoah through the plague of Hail. The wall may be reconstructed as a Genesis and Exodus narrative, beginning with Creation and ending with the Crossing of the Red Sea. Even fewer scenes were preserved on the opposite wall: it contained a cycle of the life of Christ, judging by the six scenes still seen and drawn by Grimaldi, that is, the Baptism, Crucifixion, Resurrection of Lazarus, Christ appearing to the Apostles, and Christ in Limbo.

I should like to propose that these two cycles share with Santa Maria Maggiore a common motivation and theme. With its Creation scenes, the S. Paolo cycle (and the one doubtless to be reconstructed at S. Pietro) would constitute an Orthodox response to the Manichean denial of divine creation and the identity of the Creator with the tri-une God of the New Testament.[40] The Genesis and Exodus narratives would function as they do in Santa Maria Maggiore, as

---

of Jacob survive at Santa Maria Maggiore. Left wall, Album, fol. 15 (Waetzoldt, Kopien, cat. no. 933, fig. 485) and Barb. lat 2733, fol. 114).

[40]Köhler made a similar proposition about the origin of the frescoes of S. Paolo in his study of the Grandval Bible, Die Schule von Tours I.2, 183 ff. Having determined that its model originated in the mid-fifth century and that the "gedankliche Inhalt" of the four miniatures amounted to an Orthodox defense to Manichean statements, Köhler theorized that Leo commissioned a new authoritative illuminated Bible as a part of his reaction. This bible stood behind the Tours MS. Further, Köhler wrote, restoration of churches, such as S. Paolo, contained picture cycles stressing the harmony of the Testaments, an Orthodox tenet contended by the Manicheans.

a demonstration of the prophetic history of Christ and Christian truth, prefigurations of Christian sacraments and mysteries, as an illustration of an antique and heroic past and a demonstration of scriptural harmony. The christological cycle, as it appears in S. Pietro, would in its presentation of Christ's earliest years, his Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, answer once again the Manichean denial of those aspects of Christ's terrestrial life attendant on His carnal nature. Further, the series of patriachs and prophets in both churches present to the observer's eye those Old Testament figures whom the Manicheans reviled and rejected as instruments of the Prince of Darkness. Last, the series of papal portraits presents a strictly roman theme illustrating the continuity of the apostolic tradition from Peter on, thus figuring Rome's claim to primacy and infallibility in doctrinal matters.

The decoration of these churches is a comprehensive statement of theological doctrine and ecclesiastical politics. The continuity of Christianity is shown to extend from the Creation through the veiled history of the patriarchal period into the life of Christ and on into the future with the apocalyptic vision. Both historical figure and christological narrative illustrate the life of Christ, the sacraments, and the mysteries. Creation scenes and Old Testament theophanies demonstrate His existence prior to the

Incarnation. Prophets and patriarchs testify to the long anticipation of the Messiah, the divinity incarnate in the flesh of Abraham.

The decoration of the basilicas of Peter and Paul, traditionally accorded to Leo, may thus in the response of its themes to the heretical tenets of the Manicheans have constituted another element in Leo's offensive. Having presented to his flock an estimation of the Manicheans' danger, a description of their beliefs, and a request for information, having written to the bishops of Italy and obtained from the emperor an edict proscribing their activities, Leo then undertook a publication in monumental and lasting form of the principles of Orthodox faith challenged by the heresy. By installing in the two basilicas monumental pictorial cycles illustrating the life of Christ, complete with His childhood and Passion, the harmony of the Old and New Testaments, and the honor due to the patriarchs and prophets, Leo would impress on the faithful the Orthodox dogma which had suffered recent and insidious attack.

S. Paolo f.l.m. and S. Pietro in Vaticano have much in common with Santa Maria Maggiore. At a most basic level, all three have monumental pictorial cycles drawn from the Bible. Aside from the freakish appearance of a figurative cycle at Paulinus' church at Nola, these are our earliest instances of figurative exploitation of the clerestorey

walls of a basilica. The cycles in the apostles' memoriae may be attributed with certainty lacking only a documented confirmation to Leo; that in Santa Maria Maggiore, commonly given to his predecessor, reflects in its thematic matter, doctrinal and ecclesiastical concerns occupying Rome in the years 443-4, likewise emphasized in S. Paolo f.l.m. and S. Pietro. The fundamental similarities of the decorative programs of the three churches disclose the context within which Santa Maria Maggiore belongs. The establishment of this context is essential, for only within it can lie an appreciation of the motivation to modify the interior of a basilica. That the churches are proximate in date, that panels or registers course their clerestorey walls, that these panels share both superficial subject matter and underlying themes, can only lead to the conclusion that a common motivation and a common patron were responsible for the decision to decorate the three churches. This patron was Pope Leo and his motivation appears to have been a part of the vigorous Orthodox defense against the Manicheans.

Leo's role at Santa Maria Maggiore may be buttressed by further evidence. His sermons, as we shall soon read, reveal a strong interest in prophecy and fulfillment, in the relation between the two testaments, in the perfection in and by Christ of Old Testament promise. This theme is so essential to his dogma that even in his discussions of the

life of Christ or Christian mysteries he is concerned to adduce the pertinent scriptural prophecy of the Christian reality. His sermons delivered on the Nativity and Epiphany reveal this manner of thinking and accord so strikingly with the program of the mosaics that it is difficult to deny him a part in its formulation. Excerpts from his sermons demonstrating his attitudes on the perfectibility of history, on figure and reality, prophecy and fulfillment, the meaning of the various scenes, symbols, and roles of several of the protagonists who appear in the mosaics should make apparent Leo's role in determining the pictorial decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore and his very specific involvement in the iconography of the arch.

On the third anniversary of his elevation to the papacy Leo delivered a sermon which contained a striking claim.[41] After quoting from Psalm 110, "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedech," he contrasted the temporal ministry of Aaron which descended in his line from generation to generation with that of a higher and eternal priesthood, after the order of Melchisedech, who was without generation, and "in quo aeterni Pontificis forma praecessit!" This priesthood, though perfected in Christ, continues yet on earth--in the apostolic succession of Peter:

[41]Sermon III, De Natali Ipsius III (M.P.L.54, 145 f.).

> Denique cum hujus divini sacerdotii sacramentum etiam ad humanas pervenit functiones, non per generationum tramitem curritur, nec quod caro et sanguis creavit, eligitur; sed cessante privilegio patrum, et familiarum ordine praetermisso, eos rectores Ecclesia accipit, quos Spiritus sanctus preparavit; ut in populo adoptionis Dei, cujus universitas sacerdotalis atque regalis est, non praerogativa terrenae originis obtineat unctionem, sed dignatio coelestis gratiae gignat antistitem.[42]

One may therefore read the first panel of the nave at another level: in the figure of Melchisedech blessing Abraham, with whom the City of God begins, we are to realize the Pope's sanctification of that patriarch and his descendants. And yet another Leonine aspect of this panel may be considered. As Duchesne has pointed out, the Manicheans had a horror of the wine element of the Eucharist sacrament, no doubt as part of their ascetism.[43] Leo was, therefore, forced to reaffirm this sacrament, as is recorded in his biography:

> Hic constituit ut intra actionem sacrificii diceretur <u>sanctum sacrificium</u> et cetera . . .[44]

Thus, the prophetic celebration of the Eucharist in the first panel may be held to reflect Leo's affirmation of the sacrament against Manichean criticism and to demonstrate the institution's venerability.

Human history, Leo wrote, runs a course from figure to

[42] <u>Ibid</u>., 146.

[43] <u>L.P</u>. I, 241, note 2.

[44] <u>Ibid</u>., 239.

reality, from the naming of Abraham as father of all nations to the time of Christ's advent thousands of years later, when the Israelites were joined by those of faith in sharing the promised heritage. This view of Christian history is similar to that of Augustine in De Civitate Dei:

> Impletum est in fine saeculorum quod erat ante tempora aeterna dispositum; et sub praesentia rerum, signis cessantibus figurarum, lex et prophetia veritas facta est: ut Abraham fieret omnium gentium pater, et in semine ejus daretur mundo promissa benedictio; nec hi tantum essent Israelitae, quos sanguis et caro genuisset, sed in possessionem haereditatis fidei filiis praeparatae, universitas adoptionis intraret. Nec obstrepant ineptarum calumniae quaestionum, nec effectus divini operis ratiocinatio humana discutiat; nos cum Abraham credimus Deo, nec haesitamus diffidentia, sed plenissime scimus quoniam quod promisit Dominus, potens est et facere.[45]

To prophecy Leo accorded a double value; not only does it demonstrate God's plan in announcing through figure a future reality, it also aids in the comprehension of that reality. By the application of prophecy to the Gospel narrative, Leo is apprised of the full meaning of the narrative:

> Jam ergo nos non signis neque imaginibus ad fidem deducimur, sed evangelica historia confirmati, quod factum credimus, adoramus; accedentibus ad eruditionem nostram propheticis instrumentis, ut nullo modo habeamus ambiguum, quod tantis oraculis scimus esse praedictum.[46]

[45]Sermon XXVI, In Nativitate Domini VI.2 (S. Chrét. 22 bis, 140).

[46]Sermon XXIV, In Nativitate Domini IV.1 (ibid., 108).

He demonstrates this by relating many of the Nativity details, both mystical and historical, to their prophecies. Yet the perfection of truth resides in the Gospels and surpasses there all the prefigurations in the Old Testament.[47]

> Nec enim aut Adae de limo terrae formatio, aut Evae de viri carne plasmatio, aut caeterorum hominum de utriusque sexus permixtione conditio, Jesu Christi potest ortui comparari. Genuit Abraham senex divinae promissionis haeredem, et transgressa fecunditatis annos sterilis Sara concepit. Jacob delictus est a Deo, antequam natus, et praeveniente gratia voluntarias actiones ab hispida congeniti fratris asperitate discretus. Jeremiae dicitur: 'Priusquam te formarem in utero . . .' Anna diu fecunditatis aliena . . . Zacharias sacerdos de Elizabeth sterili . . . Magna haec omnia, et divinorum operum sunt plena miraculis; sed hoc ipso moderatius stupenda, quo plura. Nativitas autem Domini nostri Jesu Christi omnem intelligentiam superat, et cuncta exempla transcendit, nec potest ulli esse comparabilis, quae est inter omnia singularis. Electae Virgini, olimque de semine Abrahae ac de radice Jesse . . .[48]

The descent of Christ from Abraham and David Leo often repeats. Such is the divine mystery that Christ is "regis David et Dominus esset et filius."[49] David's paternity is demonstrated by quotations from psalms and from Christ's statements in Gospels. This sure evidence of Christ's descent from the line of Abraham and David redounds to a condemnation of contemporary Israel for its failure to accept "Deum Dei

[47]Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 22 in a discussion of a similar view of Irenaeus in which an imperfect order prepares and prefigures a perfect order.

[48]Sermon XXX, In Nativitate Domini X.4 (S. Chrét. 22 bis, 192 f.).

[49]Sermon XXIX, In Nativitate Domini IX.2 (ibid., 180), cf. Sermon XXVIII, In Nativitate Domini VIII.3 (ibid., 166).

Filium," a prophesied blindness.[50]

By their faith in Christ and the orthodox doctrine of Incarnation, the Christians are the true Israelites, the elect and adopted of God, the body of Christ, anticipating universal redemption promised the descendants of Abraham:

> . . . veri Christiani sumus, veri Israelitae, et in consortium filiorum Dei veraciter adoptati: quia et omnes sancti qui Salvatoris nostri tempora praecesserunt, per hanc fidem justificati, et per hoc sacramentum Christi sunt corpus effecti, exspectantes universalem credentium redemptionem in semine Abrahae, de quo dicit Apostolus: 'Abrahae dictae sunt repromissiones, et semine ejus . . .' Propter quod Matthaeus evangelista, ut promissionem ad Abraham factam ostenderet in Christo esse completam, generationum ordinem percurrit, et in quo omnibus gentibus disposita fuisset benedictio, demonstravit. Lucas quoque evangelista ab ipso Domini ortu seriem generis sui sursum versus retexuit, ut etiam illa saecula quae diluvium praevenerant, et huic sacramento doceret fuisse connexa, omnesque ab initio successionum gradus, ad eum in quo uno erat salus omnium, tetendisse.[51]

These Nativity sermons of Leo thus reveal his manner of approach to the relationship of the Testaments and to the Nativity mystery. Like other christological mysteries, it is unique, surpassing human understanding and deserving of complete credence. Revealed in figure, shadow, and type throughout human history, the life of Christ on earth is the perfection of God's plan. The demonstration of prophecy in

[50]Sermon XXIX, In Nativitate Domini IX.2 f. (ibid., 180 ff.), also on the blindness of the Jews, Sermon XXXII, In Epiphaniae Solemnitate Sermo II.2 (ibid., 220 ff.).

[51]Sermon XXX, In Nativitate Domini X.7 (ibid., 198 ff.).

the Old Testament and its fulfillment in Christ and the sacraments not only aids Leo in the refutation of heresies and conviction of the Jews, it complements his understanding of Christian truth.

Such as we have seen is the thematic or pictorial method in Santa Maria Maggiore. An Old Testament cycle in the nave presents in the majority of its panels prefigurations of the New Testament events, Christian mysteries, symbols, and sacraments which will begin with the Coming of Christ depicted on the arch. The appearance of the divine infant is accomplished in the midst of several figures from the Old Testament with whom He bears a typological relationship. The demonstration of the harmony of scriptures increases our appreciation of the meaning pertaining to each event, person, or detail.

In addition to the evidence of scriptural harmony, the thematic content of the arch manifests further Leonine imprint. One of the central concerns of the arch, as we remember, is the expression of the mystery of the Incarnation. The Orthodox interpretation of the Incarnation was likewise the center of Leo's dogma and moral. "Lorsqu'on lit ses sermons sans idée preconçue," wrote Jean Leclerq in his introduction to Leo's collected sermons,

> on ne peut manquer d'être frappé de l'insistance avec laquelle il revient sur une affirmation qui est comme le principe générateur de toute sa pensée et qui assure l'unité de tout son enseignement.

> C'est l'idée de l'union hypostatique; elle domine sa psychologie; elle commande la plupart de ses développements oratoires. . . . Saint Léon est par excellence le docteur de l'union hypostatique: non pas qu'il ait donné à l'expression de ce dogme une précision définitive, mais en ce sens que ce dogme est au centre de toute sa doctrine.[52]

The Incarnation and the double nature of Christ made possible all the mysteries of His life, which He performed to accomplish the salvation of mankind.[53] The Incarnation, as the masterwork of God and the climax of human history,[54] is depicted on the arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in several modes of expression. The scenes with the Magi and Herod, with their component elements deriving from the Gospels, depict the Incarnation in fundamental narrative terms, while the iconography of the Annunciations to Abraham and Sarah, the Espousal and the David-Solomon-Christ-child scenes present prophetic and symbolic statements of the mystery. Even Bethlehem and Jerusalem refer to the Incarnation in a Leonine interpretation. In successive sermons delivered on the Feast of the Epiphany, Leo preached its meaning and implications, how it fulfilled prophecy in all its details, what the symbolism of the various elements was, how yet the lessons of Epiphany were applicable. But above all, the significance of Epiphany was the mystery and efficacy of Incarnation.

[52] J. Leclerq, Léon le Grand. Sermons, I, S. Chrét. 22 bis, 23 f.

[53] Ibid., 27.

[54] Ibid.

Where the arch fails by its content, sequence or structure to parallel the Nativity accounts in the Bible it may reflect a schema of Leo to illuminate the Epiphany. Though no single sermon provides a caption for the arch, most of the elements appear at least once and many recur in his sermons. Thus he tells us in his first sermon delivered on this Feast the meaning of the symbolic cities, Jerusalem and Bethlehem: "Bethleem praeelegit nativitati, Jerosolymam passioni."[55] The two cities, therefore, mark the termini of Christ's terrestrial life.

The Magi, inspired by prophecy and led by signs, come to Bethlehem and find the infant and Mary. They adore the infant offering gifts. The gifts are symbolic of the Incarnation:

> Denique officium suum cum religione disponunt, et his se instruunt donis, ut adoraturi unum tria se simul credidisse demonstrent: auro honorantes personam regiam, myrrha humanam, thure divinam.[56]

To the star which led them, hovering large over the head of Christ on the arch, Leo gives a special meaning. He refers it to the statement of God that the descendants of Abraham would be as countless as the stars in the heavens (Genesis 15.5). Combining the notion of this star with the Calling

[55] Sermon XXXI, In Epiphaniae Solemnitate Sermo I.2 (ibid., 212).

[56] Sermon XXXIII, In Epiphaniae Solemnitate Sermo III.2 (ibid., 230), see also Epiphany sermon I.2 (ibid., 214, and note 2 which traces the tradition of the symbolism of the Magi gifts).

of the Nations in Christ, he wrote:

> De quibus quondam beatissimo patriarchae Abrahae innumerabilis fuerat promissa successio, non carnis semine, sed fidei fecunditate generanda; et ideo stellarum multitudini comparata, ut ab omnium gentium patre, non terrena, sed caelestis progenies speraretur. Ad creandam ergo promissam posteritatem, haeredes in sideribus designati ortu novi sideris excitantur, ut in quo caeli adhibitum fuerat testimonium, caeli famularetur obsequium. Commovet magos remotioris Orientis habitatores stellis caeteris stella fulgentior, et de mirandi luminis claritate viri ad haec spectanda non inscii, magnitudinem significationis intelligunt.[57]

Thus, the star makes reference not only to the countless descendants God promised Abraham, a promise fulfilled on the left wall of the nave, it also suggests the perfection of the third promise, in which the Messiah arrives through whom Abraham and his descendants and all the nations will be blessed. To the child to whom this star led, the son and Lord of David, seen isolated and autonomous on the arch, Leo ascribed the following qualities which the Magi worshipped:

> Adorant in carne Verbum, in infantia sapientiam, in infirmitate virtutem, et in hominis veritate Dominum majestatis . . .[58]

[57]Sermon XXXIII, In Epiphaniae Solemnitate Sermo III.2 (ibid., 228 ff.).

[58]Sermon XXXI, In Epiphaniae Solemnitate Sermo I.2 (ibid., 214). One might also apply to this zone a part of the Tome proclaiming the infant's humanity and majesty: "Nativitas carnis manifestatio est humanae naturae; partus virginis, divinae est virtutis indicium. Infantia parvuli ostenditur humilitate cunarum: magnitudo Altissimi declaratur vocibus angelorum. Similis est rudimentis hominum, quem Herodes impie molitur occidere; sed Dominus est omnium, quem magi gaudent suppliciter adorare" (M.P.L. 54, 767 f.).

The Magi, the first of the Ecclesia ex Gentibus, offer Him their faith, worshipping "puerum de tribu Juda, 'de semine David secundum carnem, factum ex muliere, factum sud lege,' quam non solvere venerat, sed adimplere."[59] The recognition of Christ by the Nations has been foretold by David and Abraham, as Leo quoted to his listeners from the pertinent prophecies.[60] By virtue of the promises made to them, the figures they enacted and the prophecies they uttered, David and Abraham provided for Leo incontrovertible testimony of the Incarnation. Thus, they participate in the Advent of Christ depicted on the arch of Santa Maria Maggiore within a locus eternal and non-terrestrial, in which mystery and reality exist forever, that is the City of God.

Christ was born at a time when the authority of the Jews was held, not by the line of David, but on appointment from Rome, by Herod. The birth of Christ liberated the Jews from this alien rule in fulfillment of prophecy of Genesis 49.10, as Leo reported to his flock.[61] Likewise in his Epiphany sermons, Leo did not fail to emphasize the fact that even Herod's evil-doing was in accordance with divine plan. The blindness of Herod and his scribes, the Magi's superior perception of sign, the Massacre of the Innocents

[59] Sermon XXXIV, In Epiphaniae Solemnitate Sermo IV.3 (S. Chrét. 22 bis, 242).

[60] Sermon XXXIII, In Epiphaniae Solemnitate Sermo III. 5 (ibid., 234 ff.).

[61] Ibid., III.2 (ibid., 228).

and the frustration of Herod--the content of the third zone of the arch--receive detailed exposition in Leo's annual sermons delivered on this feast day.[62]

The Incarnation, the means by which Christ accomplished the salvation of mankind, is the central message of Leo's doctrinal teaching and activity and of the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore. As in letters and sermons, Leo backed his definitions and interpretations of Christian truth and mystery with Scriptural evidence, so on the arch the pictorial demonstration of the Incarnation is constructed by means of typological iconography. The Incarnation, the climax of human history, the fulfillment of God's covenant with Abraham, constitutes the inevitable perfection of the Old Testament program illuminating the walls of the nave. As the illustration of patriarchal history was marked by abundant theophanies, prophetic figures of Christ and the sacraments, so on the arch the arrival of the Messiah in the line of Abraham is presented in the orthodox terms of the gospel narrative (Magi, Herod scenes) and in a novel iconography as the fulfillment of prophecies to Abraham, David, and Solomon.

These juxtapositions of Leonine statements and the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore thus permit the contention

[62]Cf. Epiphany sermons I.2 f. (ibid., 212 ff.), III (227 ff.).

that Leo was the author of the program. By weaving the Incarnation and an Old Testament cycle into a typological construction, Leo was able to combat simultaneously two of the heretical tenets of the Manicheans. His pictures demonstrate to the congregation the divinity of the infant Christ and His existence prior to the Incarnation in theophany and figure, as revealed in the Law and Prophets. For his pictorial presentation of the Old Testament, Leo turned not to the Bible, but to Augustine's De Civitate Dei where the indications of divine sponsorship of the Israelites had been convincingly surveyed. Augustine's text not only provided him with the promise motif by which each individual section of mosaic was characterized, but it suggested to him the parts of Scripture significant to the illustration of the promises. In composing the arch's fulfillment of spiritual promise, Leo drew from Augustine suggestions for the symbolic expression of the Incarnation,[63] and found in De Civitate Dei confirmation of the employment of David and Abraham to testify to this mystery.

That Leo knew the writings of Augustine cannot be doubted. First, the popularity of De Civitate Dei was such that there was a problem retarding distribution of the copies before Augustine's final revisions. That the text was known

[63] As Augustine used the metaphor of the House of Wisdom to describe the Incarnation of the Logos (see above, 145 f., so too did Leo in his Tome, cap. II (M.P.L. 54, 763).

in Rome and in papal circles must be acknowledged from the nature of the book; it was, after all, a Christian defense to the pagan claim that Rome fell to Alaric because of the cessation of pagan rites and the closing of the temples.

Second, Leo, when fighting the Manicheans, would naturally have turned to the writings of Augustine, the most famous of battlers against that heresy. From these defenses Leo would supplement his knowledge of the heresy and gain aid in constructing an Orthodox offensive. As a result, it is frequently a section of Augustine's Contra Faustum or Contra Secundinum that inspires the iconography of a panel in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore.[64] A personal encounter between Augustine and Leo has often been proposed in reference to the commissioning in 418 by the future Sixtus III of a Leo to deliver a letter to Augustine.[65] Further, Leo and Augustine shared the aid and acquaintance of several persons, some of whose particular interests are relevant to the themes of Santa Maria Maggiore's decoration, thus providing possible human links in the chain between Augustine and Leo, and De Civitate Dei and the mosaics.

A lay theologian and disciple of Augustine, Prosper of Aquitaine, brought to the attention of Augustine the semi-

[64]For example, the marriages of Jacob, see above, Chapter IV, 87, below, Appendix A, 222 ff.

[65]D.T.C. IX.1. 219. Cf. Augustine, Epistle 191.1 (C.S.E.L. 57, ed. A. Goldbacher (Vienna, 1911), 163).

Pelagian controversy which arose in southern France, ca. 426.[66] Prosper attempted to defend Augustine and then encouraged the latter to answer further attack in his own writing; this prompted two of Augustine's last writings, De praedestinatione sanctorum and De dono perseverantiae.[67]

Following Augustine's death in 428, Prosper and Hilary went to Rome to urge Pope Celestine to condemn the heretical teachings current in Provence and to defend Augustine. In this mission, Prosper accomplished his introduction to the papacy and gained a defense and praise of Augustine, albeit weak.[68] A defender of the faith and its fathers against heresy and scandal, Prosper continued defending the Augustinian doctrines of grace and predestination in the early 430s against John Cassian. In 435 he went to Rome again and there began a less heated period of his life in which he wrote biographies and commentaries and worked in the chancellery of Leo. It is more than possible that between his arrival in Rome in 435 and Leo's elevation to the papacy in 440 that Prosper gained employ in either the Sixtus chancellery, in which Leo was chief administrator, or on Leo's own staff. Later, as an assistant of Leo, Prosper is known

[66] Cf. Gennadius, De. Vir. III., 85 (trans. in M.G.H. Auct. Ant. IX, 346), G. Bardy, "Prosper d'Aquitaine (Saint)," D.T.C. XIII.1, 846.

[67] M.P.L. 45.

[68] Epistle 21, "De Coelestini Papae ad Episcopos Galliarum" (M.P.L. 50, 528 ff., esp. 530 ff.).

to have continued his work in defense of dogma, drafting papal epistles in the Eutychian controversy.

Quodvultdeus is the second human link between Augustine and Leo.[69] Unlike Prosper, Quodvultdeus knew both North Africa and Augustine, and like the Manicheans, he was exiled in Italy from 433 to his death in 453/4 as a result of the Vandal invasion. He was, in fact, Bishop of Carthage in exile in Campania. Here Quodvultdeus wrote several treatises with Augustinian themes and motifs. From Campania he entered into correspondence with Leo. The book, Liber de promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei, often attributed to Prosper, has in its most recent and authoritative edition, been returned to Quodvultdeus on the basis of the author's knowledge of North Africa, Augustine, and his self-appellation of exile, as well as on the grounds of textual analysis.[70] Dated 444-445 by virtue of its references to Valentinian III (+ 455) and Leo's difficulty with the Manicheans, Pelagians, and Julian of Eclanum,[71] the book is significant in both the

[69]For biographical data, cf. René Braun, ed., Livre des promesses et des prédictions de Dieu, S. Chrét. 101-102 (Paris, 1964), 11 ff.

[70]Ibid. Previously on Cassiodorus' authority, it was regarded as a work of Prosper, De Institutiones Divinarum Litterarum I (M.P.L. 70, 1111).

[71]The reference "sub Constantio et Augusta Placidia quorum nunc filius Valentinianus pius et christianus imperat," (III, 44, 28) provides the terminus ante (S. Chrét. 102, 576), while the terminus post is established by "in italia quoque, nobis apud Campaniam constitutis, dum venerabilis et

temporal and contentual parallel it forms to the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore. The author has isolated from the Bible 300 divine promises and 50 predictions. To each he devotes a paragraph and a discussion of its prophetic value. The work thus constitutes another defense of the harmony of Scriptures undertaken through a promise-prophecy motif. In date and subject matter, it complements Leo's defense of Orthodoxy in response to Manichean attack.

The archeological and iconographical evidence in reference to Santa Maria Maggiore remain at odds with one another. On the one hand, inscriptions and brickwork furnish a date within the first third of the fifth century, or within the 430s, for the entire structure and for at least part of the decoration of the basilica. The program of the mosaics, however, answers a heresy that disturbed Rome in the few years after 443 and corresponds to the Orthodox doctrine formulated by Leo to refute this heresy. Pictorial programs in the basilicas of S. Pietro in Vaticano and S. Paolo f.l.m. similar in thematic and formal construction to that in Santa Maria Maggiore have been attributed to Leo. Further, his letters and sermons reveal attitudes and modes of thought that find their pictorial equivalent in the mosaic

---

apostolico honore nominandus papa Leo Manichaeos subverteret, et contereret Pelagianos et maxime Iulianum ambientem" (S. Chrét. 101, 17, note 1).

program of Santa Maria Maggiore. How are we to reconcile the Leonine character of the mosaic decoration with the Sixtine archeological evidence?

There are two possible solutions. The first is that Sixtus began his work at Santa Maria Maggiore late in his reign and died before its completion. The decoration of the apse and the east wall of the nave may have been begun; Sixtus may have also seen the tessellation of the top reaches of the arch, commanding the insertion of his inscription. When he died, the direction of the work passed into his successor's hands. But only after intervening difficulties with the Manicheans did Leo return to complete Santa Maria Maggiore, devising in response to this heresy a mosaic program based on the Incarnation of the Logos and the unity of the two Testaments. Leo may have installed the inscription at the top of the arch to commemorate his predecessor's initiative. He used a basilica's clerestorey walls to advertise and propagandize the true faith not only at Santa Maria Maggiore, but also in S. Paolo and S. Pietro. In this case, the revolutionary use of the walls of a church for figurative cyclical decoration was decided upon by the highest ecclesiastical authority to meet the challenge of an insidious heresy.

The alternative solution is that the decoration was planned and completed within the pontificate of Sixtus under

the guidance of Sixtus' archdeacon, Leo.[72] That Leo ghosted for Sixtus in a humanistic venture has its precedent in the Lateran Baptistery. Further, Leo would have already in the 430s developed strong ideas about the Incarnation dogma and the relation of the two Testaments, the former as early as the Nestorian controversy, the latter with the surfacing of the Manicheans in Rome in the 430s. When the breaking point with these heretics came in 443, Leo had ready an Orthodox defense. In his sermons delivered in the 440s, he returned to ideas formed in the previous decade when the threat was less severe, but substantial. Part of this early defensive action had been the propagandization of Orthodox teaching in a pictorial form on the walls of Santa Maria Maggiore, a basilica then reaching completion. In the next decade, as well as returning to his verbal defenses, Leo responded to the heresy by installing in the two apostolic memoriae pictorial cycles comparable to the first and innovative one he had sponsored while still the archdeacon of Sixtus.

If not answering by this 430s' dating the Manichean scandal of 443-444, and thus being creditable to a severe heretical provocation, the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore may by virtue of this date in the 430s indicate another facet

[72] A suggestion proposed by Richard Krautheimer in a conversation of November, 1967.

of the Sixtine Renaissance of church architecture. This classicistic movement accomplished a revitalization of ecclesiastical architecture in Rome, improving the aesthetic quality of Christian structures by the unashamed adoption of classical architectonic forms and parts. Reaching its perfection in Santa Maria Maggiore, this impulse may have contained the license to undertake the pictorial exploitation of the congregational space of basilicas destined for the performance of the Mass. In this broad architectural context may then lie the decision to illuminate the clerestorey walls and the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore with the prophetic history of the City of God and a cycle of images commemorating the climax of this history. Though the Manichean scandal of 443-444 may not then have motivated the decision to illuminate basilical walls, earlier Manichean disturbances may have inspired a program which the Sixtine Renaissance commissioned. Having seen the success of this experiment in Santa Maria Maggiore, Leo, its originator, repeated the formulae in several churches when he became pope. In time, pictorial decoration of clerestorey walls became traditional.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A CATALOG OF THE PRESERVED PANELS

Left 1 Abraham and Melchisedech

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 2; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, pl. L.1; Anderson 17510; Wilpert, RMM, III, 8; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 29-31; and fig. 2

Description: The sole-surviving full-field composition on the left wall, this panel contains a figure in priestly garments--girt tunic, banded in purple, and a purple and white mantle--holding out in his hands a basket with round breads to a white-bearded and white-robed figure, mounted on a horse and flanked by a mounted guard of four. On the ground between the priest and horses is a large cantharus. The background is of flat stripes of green beneath, gold in the middle and blue above. The blue portion contains a bust of a blue-robed Christ, nimbed, appearing amidst red, dark blue, and orange streaks in the sky.

Condition and reconstruction: How much of this mosaic is original is questionable. Though Eclissi reproduces the same composition, the details do not always accord, cf. the hands of the priest, the main equestrian figure, and the Christ in the sky. By the early XX c. the following had transpired: the lower quarter of the panel lost its tessellation and the right edge had been eaten away together with all but the right temple of the head of the rider, his arms, and left foot. These areas were replaced in fresco. The priest-figure has undergone much repair, including his entire visage, which a detailed photograph reveals as distinctly non-antique (cf. Karpp, 30). Pianigiani noted that this panel had been restored by others, but did not specify by whom or when (Protoc. 1400, 2046). The soldiers behind their white-haired leader compare well in technique and style with military figures on the opposite wall, cf. Right 7, 9, 10, 13-21.

Textual source: Genesis 14. 17-24.

Typological significance: The panel has a double value. On the one hand the presentation to Abraham of bread and wine is a proto-celebration of the Eucharist; Melchisedech, on the other hand, by virtue of his role as priest-king without generation (Hebrews 7) and the eternal order to which he belongs (Psalm 110.4), constitutes a prophetic figure of Christ. Cf. Augustine

Civ. Dei 16.22, for a concise account of both typologies, or Justin, Dialogue with Trypho 113: "[Iesus] est qui 'secundum ordinem Melchisedeci rex Salemi et aeternus altissimi sacerdos'" (C.A.C. 2, ed. J. Otto (Jena, 1877), 405).

Comparative material: S. Vitale presbytery mosaic, S. Apollinare in Classe apse mosaic, Ravenna; Vienna Genesis, Vienna, Nat'l Lib., Ms. theol. gr, 31, fol. 4r; Byzantine Octateuchs, Prudentius MSS.

Left 2 Abraham and the Vision and Hospitality at Mamre

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 4; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LI.1; Anderson 17511, Wilpert, RMM, III, 10, Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 32-36, and fig. 3.

Description: A two register composition lacking the usual horizontal division, the upper half of the panel depicts an interview between a white-haired, white-tuniced man at the left, inclining in respect towards three white-robed figures at the right. Of the three, all haloed, the central one dominates, for he stands on a small red cloud within an aureole and he and the aureole partially overlap his two companions. This scene takes place against a groundless background, against the sky or heavens. The lower register, containing two scenes, presents at the left, a white-haired stocky woman in a vari-colored dress, who prepares three loaves on a table. She stands before the curtained front of a house, to the right of which is visible a thrust of foliage. To her right, and speaking with her, is a white-haired, white-robed man. Appearing behind his shoulder and participating in the action of the right half of the register is a second man of similar appearance and dress. The latter brings to the table a platter containing an animal. At the table sit three nimbed, white-robed figures. Behind them the background is gold. On the table is another set of loaves, at its foot, a cantharus.

Condition and reconstruction: Eclissi does not note any loss, damage, or repair in the body of the panel. By the early XX c. it did suffer both loss and repair. All four edges lost cubes, especially the lower one, where the portion from the knees of the white-haired man down disappeared, as well as the area below the further rung of the table, some of the roof of the house, and the floral outburst. Pianigiani noted Pinelli repairs in fresco in the sky, above center, on the house, on the table at the right, and on the left figure of the man seen twice below and a repair in mosaic by Benedict XIII on the left-most of the group of three above (Protoc. 2046). But further patching, unnoted by Pianigiani, seems likely: in the sky above, particularly near the head of the old man and between him and the other three, the setting of the tesserae is neither neat nor do the colors blend or match. The faces of the

three have been crudely repaired, in cubes too large and of the wrong color (cf. Karpp, 34). Below, the figure of the woman is suspiciously poorly proportioned to be taken without question as integral; patching, perhaps in stucco, is in fact quite obvious in her hands and the table, particularly underneath the table (ibid., 35). The face and chest of the man addressing her have been repaired. Last a certain amount of loss and repair seems to have been sustained by the seated guests--the face of the left one, perhaps his right hand, the laps of the next two and the odd bench they sit upon, visible as the contour at the far right. It is difficult to date these repairs. Eclissi's sketch of the panel is not one of the most accurate in his series. Among other mishaps, the proportions are far too elongated and many of the figures displaying a Gothic or mannerist sway. (Pianigiani discovered under the mosaic surface, in the lower register imbedded in plaster repair, two fragments of tessellation, one with two feet, the other with the hem of the tunic; these were restored to the light, complementing the figure of the man addressing the woman, Protoc. 2046).

Textual source: Genesis 18.1 ff.

Typological significance: The typological value of the Vision and Hospitality at Mamre is both complex and a favorite topic of patristic commentary. At a most basic level, the appearance of the three men to Abraham is taken as a prefiguration of the Trinity (Justin, Dialogue with Trypho, 56), while Abraham's conversation with the man who remained behind, and whom he addressed as Lord (Dominus) is interpreted as a theophany of God. Augustine notes that some think one of the angels was Christ prior to His Incarnation:

> Item Deus apparuit Abrahae ad quercum Mambre in tribus viris, quos dubitandum non est angelos fuisse; quamvis quidam existiment unum in eis fuisse Dominum Christum, adserentes eum etiam ante indumentum carnis fuisse visibilem (Civ. Dei 16.29; C.S.E.L. 40.5.2, 178).

Implied in this scene is the annunciation of the birth of Isaac, an event of multiple prophetic significance, in terms of the divinely abetted pregnancy of Sarah and the typological role of Isaac as a figure of Christ.

(See above, Chapter IV, 78 ff., 83 ff., and Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 97 ff. for an extensive presentation of the typological structures developed in patristic literature around Isaac.

Comparative material: In a different recension, the scenes appear in the Byzantine Octateuchs. The Vision was to be found in the fresco cycle in S. Paolo f.l.m. (Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 36), and that in S. Pietro (Archivio S. Pietro, Album, fol. 13); at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina; in the Cotton Bible, British Museum, Cotton Otho B VI, 25 r; Cappella Palatina, S. Marco narthex mosaics, in the Via Latina catacomb. The Hospitality scene is found in the presbytery mosaics of S. Vitale.

Left 3 The Separation of Abraham and Lot.
Pastoral

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 3; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, L.2; Anderson 17512; Wilpert, RMM, III, 9; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 37-41; and fig. 4.

Description: In the upper register of one of the finest compositions preserved in SMM, two men, each with a white beard and dressed in white tunic and pallium, backed by a number of men, women, and children, look over their shoulders at each other as they move in opposite directions. To the left of the left group, which includes a small boy on whose head one of the protagonists lays his hand, is a building with curtained entry and pitched roof from behind which grows a tree. A mosaic border of red, white, and blue is well preserved at this edge, the top, and right. Beyond the group at the right, which includes two young girls, is a walled city. Between the two groups is a gold ground, green at their feet, and a light blue-grey sky. Below, against a background of gold are scattered pastoral elements, two shepherds, and several goats, sheep, and bushes.

Condition and reconstruction: The panel for which Eclissi notes no damage has suffered since 1640 the loss of the right edge, the lower half of the lower register, a large portion obliterating much of the child at the upper left, and nearly half of the walled city to be seen in Eclissi's sketch. Pianigiani found the panel severely detached from the wall but otherwise in good condition, in comparison to most of the panels on the left wall (Proto. 2046). The upper register betrays little stucco patching other than in the figure of the boy and the skirts of the girls. Some of the gold background tesserae may be replacements.

Textual source: Genesis 13.5-12. Abraham and Lot agree to separate in order to avoid further strife between their herdsmen, depicted below. While the architectural elements may not specifically fulfill the text, the walled city at the right behind Lot and his people represents Sodom, while Canaan is symbolized by the oak of Mamre growing out from the house, the land where Abraham and his people dwelt. The small boy standing beside Abraham can only be the not-yet-born Isaac.

Typological significance: The Separation is a simple historical figure for the many divisions of the Israelite nation throughout their written history, culminating in the Christian era with those who turn and accept Christ as Messiah and those who turn away. Augustine reports it as a simple narrative event, without typological value in Civ. Dei 16.20.

Comparative material: The Octateuchs have a different iconography, consisting primarily of the division of flocks. The composition in the XIV century bible in the British Museum, Egerton 1894 (fol. 8 r.), provides the closest parallel to the mosaic panel.

Left 7 ..... Isaac Blesses Jacob. Return of Esau

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 5; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LI.2; Anderson 17489; Wilpert, RMM, III, 11a; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 42-48, and fig. 5.

Description: In the upper register, an old man, with white hair and closed eyes, reclining on a raised litter, lays his right hand on the head of a diminutive shepherd. At the left is an outdoor scene of birds, flowers, and trees against a gold ground, with blue mountains and sky in the distance. A hand of God appears in the sky. At the right a woman watches the scene with raised hands; the head and shoulders of another appear behind her. The old man lies in front of a tetrastyle edifice which merges with an arched opening behind the woman. Below and still to be discerned are the following: at the left, a curtained doorway before which the woman in the above scene stands (note the gold and orange veil), in the middle, the old man lying before a reduced version of the porticoed facade, approached from the right by a small figure of which the shoulders still persist; at the far right, the remains of three heads emerging through an arcaded gate. The entire background of this register is gold.

Condition and reconstruction: By 1640, Eclissi noted the following areas as lost and restored: the entire lower half of the lower register, including all but the top of the head of the woman at the right, and above, the upper right corner, including the head and shoulders of the figure at the far right. By the early XX c. further damage consumed the edges and many spots in the background of the lower register. On technical and stylistic grounds, it is evident that much of the body of the panel is stucco repair and doubtless attributable in its first stages to Pinelli. The fine head of the old man in the upper register is integral, cf. fig. 44, and need only be compared with its counterpart below in stucco to demonstrate how high the quality of many of the V c. mosaics were and how greatly they have been compromised in restoration.

Textual source: Genesis 27.18-30. Isaac blesses his younger son, Jacob, who by his mother's complicity, usurps his brother's rights. The figure at the far right behind the engaged Rebecca may well be the

returning Esau, he who, at any rate, once clearly manifested himself in the lower register. The unpelted aspect of Jacob may well signal his restoration. The landscape at the above left depicts the blessing Isaac is uttering: "May God give you of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of grain and wine . . ." (Gen. 27.28).

Typological significance: Jacob's claiming of the blessing is a popular theme in Christian typological schemas expressing the triumph of the Christians, the younger of God's people, over the Jews, His first elect (cf. Isidore, Allegoriae, 25, 26; M.P.L. 83, 105). An early, lengthy, and ruthlessly biased commentary on this incident was made by Hippolytus and preserved in a letter of Jerome:

> Isaac portat imaginem dei patris, Rebecca spiritus sancti, Esau populi prioris et diaboli, Jacob ecclesiae sive Christi. Senuisse Isaac consummationem orbis ostendit; oculos illius caligasse fidem perisse de mundo . . . significat;

Hippolytus noted a prophetic meaning for each detail. The two kids Jacob brought prefigure "carneum salvatoris adventum," the skins on Jacob's arms are "peccata utriusque . . . plebis, quae Christus in extensione manuum cruci secum pariter adfixit," Esau's meditation of revenge he equates with the Jews' murder of Christ, and so forth (Jerome, Epistle 36.16; C.S.E.L. 54, ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna, 1910), 283 ff.). Augustine finds in the blessing of Jacob the proclamation of Christ among the nations, Civ. Dei 16.37, see above, Chapter IV, 86; again Augustine goes on at length about the twins' prophetic roles, ibid., 16.37. Cf. Irenaeus, Against the Heresies, IV.21.2-3; Hilarius, Tractatus Mysteriorum I.20).

Comparative material: Without number, though the compositions differ, e.g., Via Latina catacomb, Octateuchs, fresco cycles of S. Pietro, S. Paolo, and S. Maria Antiqua, and in the Ashburnam Pentateuch, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. 2334, fol. 25 r.

Left 9 Rachel announces Jacob's Arrival.
Greeting of Jacob and Laban

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 7; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LII.1, Anderson 17488, Wilpert, RMM, III, 11b; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 49-55, and fig. 6.

Description: In the upper register, in a scene in which the action develops from right to left, two shepherds at the right, preceded by their flock and a young woman in orange dalmatic with black clavi are brought to a couple emerging from the door of a house, the man in short white tunic, the woman in blue dalmatic and palla. The middle ground is gold, with green mountains and a blue-grey sky in the distance. Below two scenes are combined in a panel. With the woman in blue looking on at the left, two men in shepherd's attire embrace; in the right half of the register, the two men together with the woman in blue approach the orange-clad woman standing before the house.

Condition and reconstruction: Eclissi marks as modern the lower half of the lower register, which Leo XII restored again in fresco, according to Pianigiani (Protoc. 2046). The latter found the bodies and faces integral except for some retouching in fresco. On the grounds of stylistic and technical criteria, the writer feels that Pinelli, working along the lines of the surviving areas, reconstructed much of the panel in imitation tessellation, incorporating surviving integral portions. This would be true of the head of the woman in blue, the two men, part of the dress of the woman in orange in the lower register, and above the man emerging from his house, the woman in orange, and many other areas.

Textual source: Genesis 29.12-13. Jacob arrives at Haran. Having met Rachel at the well he is brought by her to meet her father, the latter is depicted in the upper register. Below, uncle and nephew embrace in the presence of Laban's wife, and then Laban formally introduces Jacob to Rachel, a detail not mentioned in the text.

Typological significance: Isidore and other writers give allegorical roles to the dramatis personae of Jacob's Mesopotamian career:

> Laban legis et diaboli habuit typum, ex cujus corpore assumpsit sibi Christus duas conjuges, plebis scilicet circumcisionis et gentium. Lia Synagogae figuram habuit, quae infirmis oculis cordis sacramenta Dei speculari non potuit. Rachel vero clara aspectu Ecclesiae typum tenuit, quae contemplationis acie Christi mysteria cernit (Allegoriae, 27-29; M.P.L. 83, 105).

Hippolytus compared Jacob's flight to Mesopotamia to escape Esau's wrath to Christ who

> Iudaeorum incredulitate conpulsus proficiscitur in Galilaeam inde sibi ex gentibus sponsam sumpturus ecclesiam.
> (Jerome, Epistle 36.16; C.S.E.L. 54, 285).

Comparative material: In a different recension, the Octateuchs, Vienna Genesis, a sarcophagus from S. Callisto (cf. Wilpert, RMM, I, 438).

Left 10 Jacob Asks to Marry Rachel. Pastoral

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 8; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LII.2; Anderson 17487, Wilpert, RMM, III, 12a; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 56-60, and fig. 7.

Description: In the surviving upper register, a central group of a man and three women is flanked on either side by shepherds. This group is led by a white-haired man in girt tunic, accompanied by a small female figure in orange, a white-haired woman in grey and in the background, between the other two females, a third in yellow. At the left, a shepherd in blue exomis, standing under a tree, leaning on his staff, tends sheep; at the right another shepherd likewise in blue, with an orange mantle, addresses the women. Two shepherds converse behind him. Sky and tree-tops alone persist from the lower register.

Condition and reconstruction: A much destroyed and much disputed panel, the cause of Biagetti's thesis that the mosaics were not executed on the walls (cf. Rendic. Pont. Accad. 15), the upper register survives in two halves with a crack running vertically down the middle, severing the figures of the little female and the one behind her. Eclissi marks as modern the entire lower register, sketching in the XVI C.'s restored landscape. In the upper register, Eclissi noted restoration of the sky and the two companions of the petitioning shepherd. Repairs in fresco on the edges and along the fissure were executed by Leo XII, according to Pianigiani, slight fresco touches were attributed to Pinelli, but the faces he found integral (Proto. 2046). Pianigiani seems to have underestimated the repairs. Richter and Taylor called the whole a stucco restoration (The Golden Age . . ., 109). The gold background presents tesserae of two types, a key to restoration; the left arm of the shepherd in the left half is stucco (cf. Karpp, 56), as may be other parts of his figure and flock; the face of the woman at the far right has a repaired cheek (ibid., 60), and that of the woman in the rear may be largely restored. In addition, given the technical identity of the three figures at the right, one may as well include the innermost shepherd as a restoration of Pinelli as well as the two companions that Eclissi did attribute to that cardinal. The survival of integral parts is thus minimal, yet there is no reason to doubt the accuracy

of the composition.

Textual source: Genesis 29.15-20. Jacob, who is to serve his uncle as a shepherd, requests that his wages be the hand of his daughter, Rachel. Such is the colloquy of the upper register. One may reconstruct a pastoral scene below.

Typological significance: The marital career of Jacob, which commences with his asking the hand of Rachel, elicited much apologetic commentary. By equating its personae with Christian virtues and Hebrew shortcomings, the superficial discreditable character of this career was transcended. E.g., Justin, Dialogue with Trypho, 134; Augustine, Contra Faustum 22.47-58, and Ambrose, De Jacob et Vita Beata 2.25:

> Ipse autem est qui praefigurabatur in Iacob dominus Iesus, duorum vir coniugiorum, hoc est consors quidam legis et gratiae, qui virginem Rachel ante dilexit, et praedestinatam sibi in coniugium pio amabat affectu. Sed quoniam Lia tamquam lex subintravit et oculis infirmior obrepsit tamquam synagoga, quae mentis caecitate Christum videre non potuit, superabundavit gratia sanctae Rachel, quae supra primum illud est expetita coniugium, quae ecclesiae principatum futurum iam tunc nominis sui interpretatione signabat, beata Rachel, quae abstulit obprobrium suo partu: beata Rachel, quae abscondit cultus, erroresque gentilium, quae simulacra eorum plena esse immunditiae declaravit. (C.S.E.L. 32.2, ed. C. Schenkl (Vienna, 1897), 46)

Cf. Daniélou, for a comparison of patristic and philonic interpretations of Jacob's marriages, Sacramentum Futuri, 114 ff.

Comparative material: Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. fr.5, fol. 26v, Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. 270b, fol. 18r.

Left 11 Jacob Reproaches Laban. Jacob Marries Rachel

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 9; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LIII.1; Anderson, 17486; Wilpert, RMM, III, 12b; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 61-65, and fig. 8.

Description: In the upper register at the left a shepherd, accompanied by a fellow shepherd and a flock, animatedly addresses a white-haired man who stands before a house at the right with two women. The shepherds wear exomis, the man a white girt tunic and an orange mantle; the women, like the two in the previous panels, are clad, one in orange with black clavi, the other in white, with a blue wrap. The background is gold with some green shrubbery and a grey-blue sky. Below, two scenes are juxtaposed. At the left the man in the orange mantle speaks with two men, while another man stands behind him. In the right two-thirds of the field, the same man with orange mantle stands in front of an exedra between a couple enacting the dextrarum iunctio, the bride at the left, with the elder woman in blue behind her, the shepherd-groom at the right, seconded by another two shepherds.

Condition and reconstruction: By Eclissi's time more than half of the lower register had been entirely restored; by the early XX c. the lateral edges were nibbled away. Found only slightly detached from the wall, Pianigiani notes repair in fresco by Leo XII around the edges, retouching of Pinelli's work on the lower reaches and minor touches by Pinelli in fresco here and there (Proto. 2046). But this is far from enough. Once again the gold background is comprised of two types of cubes, indicating restoration; part of the building below is even reworked in gold. Many of the figures have been reworked either in enameled tesserae or imitation stucco-tessellation. The crudity of the tessellation is obvious in any photograph and color reproductions reveal the shocking tones. Given the various differences between the present aspect of many figures and that recorded by Eclissi, plus the non-antique character of many of the figures, we must postulate two restorations, one by Pinelli, and another in the XVIII or XIX century.

Textual source: Genesis 29.25-27. Jacob reproaches Laban for the treachery of slipping Leah into his marital bed instead of the anticipated Rachel. Below, Gen. 29.28 is figured; after a week of sleeping with Leah at Laban's insistence, Jacob receives the favored daughter as his wife and contracts seven more years of servitude. The colloquy of the four men at the right is difficult to explain; perhaps it is a wedding invitation.

Typological significance: See above, Left 10.

Comparative material: In a different recension, the XIV c. picture bible of Rovigo, Bibl., Accademia dei Concordi, 212, fol. 21r. ff.

Left 12 Jacob asks for Recompense.
Division of the Flocks

Illustrations: Vat. barb. lat. 4405, fol. 10; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LIII.2; Anderson 17485; Wilpert, RMM, III, 13b; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 66-70; and fig. 9.

Description: In the upper register a conversation between a man in a white tunic and another in a shepherd's exomis takes place. Each man is backed by two shepherds, a number of sheep, shepherd's peaked huts at the left and a gabled one at the right. Below the conversation continues in another setting, while the subsidiary shepherds, two on the left and one on the right, apply sticks to the flocks.

Condition and reconstruction: The panel reported by Pianigiani to be in comparatively good shape has suffered some loss of tesserae along its edges, including loss of the lower third of the lower register, damage in part repaired by Pinelli in painted stucco, and according to Pianigiani, again by Leo XII (Proto. 2046) Pinelli's repairs are marked by Eclissi. Remains of the mosaic border and chamfered corner are seen in the upper right. Unnoted by Pianigiani are spot repairs--in imitation tessellation?--in several of the faces and more extensive patching in the garments of the figure in the white tunic. Richter and Taylor report the two registers are all in stucco, preserving only the antique composition, The Golden Age . . ., 113, but this is an exaggeration.

Textual source: Genesis 30.25 ff. Jacob petitions Laban for permission to take his wives and children away, but Laban whose flocks have multiplied under Jacob's care will not let him. They reach an agreement in the lower register, in which the flocks are to be divided, Jacob receiving all the speckled and spotted sheep and goats and black lambs as his wages, Laban, the others.

Typological significance: It falls into two categories, one for the servitude of Jacob, the other for the division of the flocks. Jacob's servitude to Laban is symbolic of Christ's to man, the spotted and speckled sheep are symbolic of the races and nations of man:

Servivit Iacobus Labano pro maculosis et variis pecoribus: servivit Christus quoque servitutem usque ad crucem pro variis ex omni genere et multiformibus hominibus . . . (Justin, Dialogue with Trypho 134;C.A.C. 2, 479).

Cf. Irenaeus, Against the Heresies IV.21.3.

Comparative material: Vienna Genesis fol. 9v, Octateuchs, British Museum, Egerton 1894, fol. 16v, Oxford, Bodleian 270b, fol. 18r.

Left 13 God Orders Jacob Home. Jacob Tells His Wives.

Illustrations: Vat. barb. lat. 4405, fol. 11; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta LIV.1; Anderson 17472; Wilpert RMM, III, 14; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 71-73, and fig. 10.

Description: In the upper register is a pastoral scene. In the left half three shepherds with rods lead their flock of sheep to water at the left edge. At the right, beyond a tree, two shepherds watch an abbreviated flock while the third addresses the bust of a white-robed Deity at the upper right. A pile of rocks is to be seen at the right edge of the gold and green landscape. Below, a shepherd addresses two women who, together with several children, stand before a house. At the right two men are engaged in conversation amidst some sheep.

Condition and reconstruction: Eclissi marks as modern the lower half of the lower register and the left edge and notes cracks in the panel, one a large diagonal running from the right foot of the man speaking with God to the head of the woman at the right below; the second crack is in the area to the right of the other woman's shoulder and neck. Pianigiani noted fresco repair of Pinelli and Leo XII in these areas and other spots, but felt the remainder to be integral (Proto. 2046). Gold patching is evident in the background of each register; it is also possible that many of the figures are comprised of imitation stucco tessellation.

Textual source: Genesis 31.1 ff. God speaks to Jacob and tells him to return to his land since his relations with Laban and his sons have not improved. Below Jacob informs Rachel and Leah that he is forced to leave because of their father's injustices. The shepherds in the upper right continue the experiments with the rods in the drinking water of Genesis 30.37 ff.

Typological significance: Justin makes of Jacob's eugenic experiment a figure of the efficacy of the wood of the cross, Dialogue with Trypho 86.

Comparative material: See above, Left 12.

Left 15 Jacob's Messengers Come to Esau.
The Brothers Embrace.

Illustrations: Vat. barb. lat. 4405, fol. 13; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LIV.2; Anderson 17424; Wilpert, RMM, III, 13a; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 74-78, and fig. 11.

Description: Two scenes appear to be contained in the upper register. At the left, to the side of a tree which unevenly divides the field, two men speak with a man in military attire who stands before a walled city with two guards. At the right a man flanked by two women and two men addresses some words to the two men. Below all that is preserved are the heads of an army at the upper left and the head of a shepherd with a staff at the right.

Condition and reconstruction: Eclissi and Wilpert give all the necessary evidence on the condition of the panel, reported by Pianigiani to be in a ruinous condition and very much detached from the wall (Proto. 2046). It reached Pinelli in poor condition and was repaired in fresco. The jarring whiteness of several of the flesh parts of figures may be creditable to plaster imitation of tesserae. Esau and his army are the work of the battle-master, an artist responsible for much of the right wall's panels.

Textual source: Genesis 32.3-6. Jacob's messengers speak with Esau whose land they now pass through and return at the upper right to report to Jacob Esau's reception. The lower register once contained a scene of the encounter and reunion of the brothers, Genesis 33.1 ff. Esau's armies are seen at the left, while Jacob's presence is assured by the pastoral type at the left.

Typological significance:

Comparative material: Several of the Octateuchs, the Vienna Genesis, fol. 11v (sending of envoys to Esau); for the embrace, cf. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 638, fol. 4v.

Left 17 Hemor and Schechem Petition Jacob for the Hand of Dinah. The Sons of Jacob Report Their Sister's Rape.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 15; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LV.1; Anderson 17482; Wilpert, RMM, III, 15b; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 79-81, and fig. 12.

Description: In the upper register two men in tunics and colored pallia incline and present themselves to an old white-robed man seated on a camp stool, and surrounded by three young men in colored short tunics. At the left, emerging from the gates of a walled city is a group of men, clad in tunics and paladumenta. Below the same old man occupies the left corner of the field and converses with four young men, clad like those above in the short tunic.

Condition and reconstruction: As may already be seen in Eclissi's sketch, and then in Wilpert, this panel suffered great loss. A considerable portion of its edges had already been repaired by Pinelli (and again by Leo XII in fresco, according to Pianigiani , Proto. 2046). The lower third of the lower register and a figure to the left of the old man were likewise restored by Pinelli (and again by Leo XII) as were, in the upper register, much of the walled city, the legs of the seated man and the right edge. Wilpert's plate gives best evidence on the condition of the panel, while Karpp's fig. 79 demonstrates Pianigiani's garish restoration. Repairs made in mosaic by Wilpert's time--obvious by their technical and stylistic inferiority to the integral areas--may also be noted throughout: the heads of the old man, those of his two petitioners, above, as well as the body of the forward petitioner. The loss of the peripheral parts of the upper register has not hampered its composition but the lower may have suffered too much loss to permit an accurate identification.

Textual source: Genesis 34.6-7. The upper register depicts the petition of Hemor and his son Schechem for the hand of Dinah, Jacob's sole daughter. They and their fellow Canaanites emerging from the gates of their city, come before Jacob who was camped before the city. Below the sons of Jacob rebuke their father for his probable assent to the match, furious because of the rape and

insult to their sister.

Typological significance: I find the interpretation of Richter and Taylor for this and Left 18 unique. They view Hemor and Schechem willing to submit to circumcision in order to obtain the marriage as a type of the Ecclesia ex Gentibus, later murdered by Jacob's sons, the types of the Jews who persecuted the Church and Christians for not following the ritual observances of Judaism. The rape of Dinah is not important, only the archetypal concern over circumcision, The Golden Age . . ., 126 ff. I could discover neither a patristic interpretation of this incident, nor substantiation of the Richter-Taylor thesis.

Comparative material: The petition scene may be found in some of the Octateuch cycles; the rape occurs only in several western medieval MSS, e.g., Brit. Mus., Egerton 1894, fol. 17v., Oxford Bodleian 270b, fol. 21v., Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. fr. 167, fol. 10v.

Left 18 Hemor and Schechem Appeal to Jacob and Announce the Requirement of Circumcision to Their People.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 16; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LV.2; Anderson 17473; Wilpert, RMM, III, 15a; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 82-84, and fig. 13.

Description: In the upper register, a group of men in dalmaticae and paenulae stand before the walls of a city at the right and address two standing youths in short tunics and an old man, in white tunic, seated on a camp stool. Below, two men, clad as the two leading petitioners in the upper register, appear elevated above a crowd, which spreads across the fields, listening to their speech. A walled city is to be seen at the left.

Condition and reconstruction: By Eclissi's time, only the central area of the panel persisted; most of the edges and almost two-thirds of the lower register were tagged modern. Since then, the panel has suffered further loss and some repair, though there are not any grounds to doubt the reliability of the reconstruction.

Textual source: Genesis 34.8-23. The incident with Hemor and Schechem continues, as they petition, above, Jacob and his sons, for the hand of Dinah. In the interview, the sons announce the requirement of circumcision as a prerequisite of the marriage. Below the compliant Hemor and Schechem ask the males of their city to undergo this rite.

Typological significance: See Left 17.

Comparative material: See above, Left 17,

Right 2 Moses before Pharoah's Daughter. Moses Disputes with the Egyptian Wisemen.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 22; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LVI.2; Anderson 17508; Wilpert, RMM, III, 16; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 85-89, and fig. 14.

Description: In the top center a youth in tunic and purple chlamys is presented by a woman to regally attired female, enthroned before a small architectural structure at the left. Four ladies, two on either side of the central pair, attend the presentation, one with basket, another with chest in hand. A dextra dei in the sky points down at the child. Below the youth appears in conversation with a group of men clad in the robes of learning, pallium and tunic, sitting and standing along a semi-circular bank of benches. At either side, observers peak over the edges of the banks. This space-defining architectural form is unique in the mosaic cycle.

Condition and reconstruction: The mosaic was damaged on either side, particularly in the lower register by the early XX c.; crude patching in plaster imitation of tesserae had been attempted. Much of the lower third of the lower register is lost and roughly patched in imitation tessellation. By 1640 the triangular area at the lower right and the two lateral edges had already been lost, as well as the observers at the left; the bottom edge was cut and crudely patched, as Wilpert's plate shows. Eclissi who seems to have a congenital ability to miss or misrepresent children, mistakes here both figures of the youth. In the lower register he had difficulty with his stance and facial characteristics, while in the upper register the youth was lost entirely in the voluminous form of the woman to the right. Yet his robes have been assimilated into those of this woman and the one to his other side. Likewise, Eclissi missed the dextra dei and the small chest. The sky, gold background, and dextra dei may well be restored areas. Pianigiani who found the mosaic severely detached from the wall credited Benedict XIII with mosaic repair of the gowns of the youth and the woman to the right and Pinelli with fresco patching in the lower register (Proto. 2046). The area of white cubes to the right of the enthroned woman's head may well be the mark of Leo XII's restorers.

Pianigiani reported the faces to be integral, thought Richter and Taylor thought the enthroned woman's head a Justinianic interpolation (The Golden Age . . ., 145).

Textual source: Exodus 2.4-10 provides the inspiration for the upper register: Moses' mother, having brought up her child, returns him to the daughter of Pharoah. The chest contains her wages. The scene of Moses amidst the philosophers is apocryphal in origin, and may be traced to Philo, Life of Moses 1.5 or Acts of the Apostles, 7.22.

Typological significance: Moses' reputation for learning and his early philosophic powers prefigure the christological event of Christ among the doctors, Luke 2.41-48. Isidore of Seville calls Pharoah's daughter a figure of the Ecclesia ex Gentibus for her saving of Moses from the waters, Allegoriae, 58.

Comparative material: Moses' presentation to Pharoah's daughter is apparently without parallel, though the finding of Moses in the bulrushes is common to the Octateuchs, Dura synagogue frescoes, and other cycles. Moses' presentation to Pharoah is found in the Octateuchs.

Right 3 Moses Marries Sephora. Pastoral and Call.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 21; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LVI.1; Anderson 17513; Wilpert, RMM, III, 17; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 90-96, and fig. 15.

Description: In the upper register a large heavy-shouldered priest clad in girt tunic and blue mantle stands before a conch-topped architectural element and puts his right hand on the left shoulder of a woman to the left and his left hand on the left shoulder of a man to the right. The couple join their right hands before the priest in the gesture of dextrarum iunctio. The woman, clad in gold dalmatic, with a white veil flowing down her back from the top of her head, is accompanied by three women at the left. The man in tunic, pallium, and sash is joined by four men, clad like he. Below, freely distributed against a gold background, are three figures in shepherd's attire, two standing and one reclining, several sheep and a variety of bushes, some tinged in red. The central shepherd, larger than his fellows, leans on his staff and looks to a hand of God emerging from a red cloud.

Condition and reconstruction: Wilpert and Pianigiani note damage and loss of tesserae to all four edges, with the greatest loss at the bottom. Pianigiani found the panel fairly well embedded in the wall, preserving in its broad lines the aspect it presented to Eclissi, including the stocky priest, the man at the upper right seen awkwardly from behind, the bound-up togae of the groom's party and the little reclining shepherd below. However, stylistic and technical criteria reveal further restored areas. To begin with, Pinelli extended the edges of the panel to fill his new frames (See below, Appendix B, 274) though Pianigiani credits Leo XII with this repair (Proto. 2046), a mistaken attribution. After Pinelli and Eclissi, several whole figures and heads were crudely repaired, in particular, the head and arm of the priest, the entire shepherd in the middle, below, the right half, or more of his companion to the left, the top of the conch and spot patches in the gowns of the women. These restorations, unnoted by Pianigiani, may be credited to Leo XII.

Textual source: Exodus 2.16-21 provides the background for the upper register in which Jethro, priest of Midian, gives his daughter, Sephora, to Moses in marriage. Depicting Exodus 3.1 ff. below, Moses, a shepherd tending the flocks of his father-in-law, is called by God. In the Bible an angel of the Lord appears in the flame of a burning bush, but in the mosaic a flaming hand appears in the sky while nearby bushes are set afire.

Typological significance: Moses a figure of Christ who led the people of God (the Israelites) from the devil (Pharoah) marries in Sephora the Ecclesia ex Gentibus "cujus ob causam zeli Synagoga obtrectans adversus Christum, illico contagio leprae perfunditur" (Isidore, Allegoriae, 59, 62; M.P.L. 83, 109). For Philo, Moses and Sephora represent two species of wisdom, whose union in marriage makes of Moses per se the outstanding leader prophet and figure he was, cf. Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 177 ff., esp. 180 ff.

Comparative material: The marriage scene is found in XIII c. French mss., among them Oxford Bodleian 270b, fol. 40r., and Manchester, Rylands, fr. 5, fol. 48r. The Call of Moses, in formats more or less detailed, is widespread, e.g., Dura synagogue, catacombs, Octateuchs, S. Sabina door panel, Antioch sculptural relief, S. Vitale chancel mosaic, several Hebrew Mss of the Pentateuch, and the Vatican Cosmas Indicapleustes, Ms. gr. 699, fol. 61v.

Right 4 Meeting of Moses and Aaron. Performance of Serpent Miracle before Pharoah.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 23; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LVII.1, and fig. 16.

Description: The upper register of the panel depicts the confrontation of two groups. The protagonist has ranged behind him two mounted figures and other standing figures. He speaks to several figures at the right who incline in greeting or conversation towards him. Below at the left a group of men, elders and some children look on at a happening at the center, while figures in military gear disperse in disorder looking at the manifestation on the ground.

Condition: Preserved until the mid-XVIII c., the mosaic presented a century earlier to Eclissi a fairly good condition. The lower border, like those of many of the panels on the right wall, was cropped. A large triangular section in the lower right had been restored and was noted to be modern.

Textual source: Exodus 4.27 ff. describes the meeting of Moses and Aaron in the wilderness, depicted in the upper register. Below, in accord with Exodus 7.8-12. Moses and Aaron perform the first of many miracles before Pharoah, this one the transformation of Aaron's rod into a serpent.

Typological significance:

Comparative material: The fresco cycles of S. Pietro and S. Paolo contained the meeting of the kinsmen (cf. Archivio S. Pietro, Album, fol. 13, and Vat. Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 53). The meeting is common to Octateuchs, and the appearance of Moses and Aaron before Pharoah occurs in many manuscripts, though the recensions differ.

Right 5 Moses Outlines the Requirements for the Passover Lamb. Moses Describes the Promised Land.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 24; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LVII.2; and fig. 17.

Description: Above a central frontal seated figure speaks to people amassed to either side and behind his throne. At the left stand four adults and three children, behind his throne four elders, and at the right a number of adults including veiled women, at whose feet are about ten lambs. Below the same seated figure with his auditors massed behind him at the right points out a landscape containing three walled cities and clusters of palms.

Condition: Sketched by Eclissi, it was not marked by any damage or repair. It was destroyed in the mid-XVIII c.

Textual source: Exodus 12.21-28 provides the background for the upper register, in which Moses gives the commandment for Passover, telling the Hebrews to prepare themselves and protect their children, by selecting and killing a lamb and marking their doorposts with the blood. The lower register is an elaborate pictorialization of the Land of Milk and Honey which Moses describes to the Israelites in Exodus 13.5.

Typological significance: The Passover lamb and Passover pertain antetypically to the sacrifice of Christ:

> Mysterium igitur 'agni' quem 'pascha immolare' praecepit deus, figura erat Christi, cuius sanguine pro fidei in eum ratione 'domos suae' inungunt qui credunt in eum (Justin, Dialogue with Trypho 40; C.A.C. 2, 135).

As the first-born of the Jews were saved because they were marked by the blood of the lamb, so Christ vanquished death by his own blood, cf. Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 131. Cf. Leo's Sermon LVIII: De Passione Domini Sermo VII.1 (S. Chrét. 74, 49 ff.) for the typological expression of the sacrifice of the True Sheep to fulfill its antetype.

Comparative material:

Right 6 . The Institution of Passover

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 25; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LVIII.1; and fig. 18.

Description: A file of male figures in long tunics, including one elder with a mantle, disperse along the front plane of the upper register. In the rear on a tall pedestal is a diminutive quadruped. The lower half is entirely restored.

Condition: Sketched by Eclissi in 1640, the upper register was reported to be integral, the lower all modern. Like panels 4 and 5, it was destroyed by Fuga, ca. 1743.

Textual source: Exodus 12.21 ff. The representation has some relevance to the choice of the paschal lamb.

Typological significance: See above, Right 5.

Comparative material:

Right 7 The Crossing of the Red Sea

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 27; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LIX.1 (flopped); Anderson 17482; Wilpert, RMM, III, 18; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 97-102; and fig. 19.

Description: In this full-field composition, the action develops from right to left as the army of Pharoah pours out of a tall city gate at the right, onto the shore and into the sea in the center while Moses and the Israelites occupy a wedge of land on the left. The army, mounted on horse-back and chariots, clad in armor and armed with shields and spears, forms a compact mass exiting from the gates, while single figures detach themselves in battle at the bottom and along the upper shore. The drowning of Pharoah and some of his troops is depicted by a colorful flotilla of shields, figures, and horses caught in the return of the parted waters. Moses, a tall strong figure in ample white tunic and pallium looks back at the Egyptians and lowers his staff to the waters. To the left are two other large figures, a man in white tunic and turquoise paenula and a woman in a grey palla; the former leads a small boy by the hand. A border of white tesserae outlines the Israelites against the sea and continues past them dividing the sea far into the distance.

Condition and reconstruction: Wilpert and Pianigiani (Proto. 2046) confirm the good state of the panel's conservation. The edges, particularly the middle of the lower one, have suffered a loss of tesserae and have been repaired in fresco. Yet the original mosaic frame persists at the bottom left and left edges, with signs of Pinelli's extension of the field at the right. The bulbous head of the child at the lower left may indicate a repair. Richter and Taylor credit the figures of the right half of the panel and the right wall of the city to a repair but neither the army nor architecture differ in style nor technique from the Eclissi sketch nor the other pictures largely martial. The army of Pharoah constitutes the work of the battle-master, an artist who was responsible for much of the right file of panels, in particular, the Joshua series.

Textual source: Exodus 14.15 ff., esp. 21 ff. The Israelites have crossed the Red Sea and eluded the army of Pharoah. The latter is caught in the returning waters. The strip of white tesserae between the Israelites and the sea may figure "the pillar of cloud [which] moved from before them and stood behind them, coming between the host of Egypt and the host of Israel," Exodus 14.19-20. Cf. Prudentius, Dittochaeon IX, and The Daily Round 5.40 ff.

Typological significance: The typological partner of this event is the sacrament of Baptism, as articulated by Paul:

> I want you to know, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized unto Moses in the cloud and the sea . . . (I Corinthians 10.1-2)

Cf. Augustine, Commentary on Psalms 81 and 104 for this baptismal interpretation, and Tertullian, On Baptism 9. In another light, still typological, Justin counts this incident a major example of the intervention of Christ before the Incarnation on the behalf of the Israelites, Dialogue with Trypho 131. A third application of the Red Sea theme is that made by Eusebius in reference to Constantine, the New Moses, as victor over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, Church History 9.9.
Cf. Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 131 ff., esp. 152 ff.

Comparative material: One of the most popular of Old Testament illustrations, cf. Dura synagogue, door panel of S. Sabina, Via Latina catacomb, the Octateuchs, the Ashburnam Pentateuch, fol. 68r., Homiles of Gregory Nazianzus, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. grec. 510, fol. 264, Paris Psalter, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. gr. 139, fol. 419v., Leo Bible, Vatican, Reg. gr. 1, fol. 46v., S. Paolo Bible, S. Paolo f.l.m., fol. 20v.
Cf. J. Lassus, "Quelques Représentations du 'Passage de la mer rouge' dans l'art chrétien d'Orient et d'Occident," Mél. Rome 46 (1929), 159 ff.

Right 8 Moses Speaks with God. The Miracle of the Quails.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 26; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LVIII.2; Anderson 17481; Wilpert, RMM, III, 19a; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 103-107; and fig. 20.

Description: Two incidents are brought together in the upper register. At the left a group of men, four of whom are represented in nearly complete frontal form in tunics and colorful paenula, address another man in white tunic and pallium. This man, in the second scene, turns to the right, and looks up to the sky in conversation with a figure of the deity. The background is of blue-green grass, gold to the head tops and grey-blue above. Below, a group of men, again colorfully clad, cluster at the left in excitement, two kneel down to the ground, while three figures in white tunics and pallia at the right look on. Birds fly against the golden upper background.

Condition and reconstruction: Large areas of this panel have been damaged and repaired at various times. To begin with, the edges at the left, top, and particularly the bottom were destroyed and repaired. The area to the right of Moses in the upper register, containing the bust of Christ in the sky was noted to be modern by Eclissi, and is to be attributed to Pinelli. In this same register, all the sky and parts of the gold background are restored. By Eclissi's time, the lower register had suffered considerable damage and repair. The group of three men together with the background at the right is a medieval repair, as proposed by Bertelli (Paragone 63); this area suffered loss again by Eclissi's time, and again since, and has been repatched (by Benedict XIII, according to Pianigiani Proto. 2046). Large areas in the left half of the register also were bald when Eclissi was at work; Pinelli may have had the lower edge retessellated with further repair undertaken by subsequent restorers. Pianigiani suggests Benedict XIII, but I would suggest Leo XII (note the tell-tale white cubes), for the kneeling figure, much of the background and the figures clustering to the right of this left group (cf. Karpp, 105).

Textual source: Exodus 16.2-17. After crossing the Red Sea, Moses and the Israelites found themselves in the wilderness. The people were unhappy with their lot and

complained to Moses, upper left; Moses consulted God, who promised that He would provide for the hunger of the Israelites. The lower register combines the gathering of manna, left, with the hail of quails. Cf. Prudentius, Dittochaeon XI, in which the two heavenly gifts are combined in one 'image'.

Typological significance: Once again a sacramental typology is figured: the manna and quails are a type of Christ, of the Eucharist. Christ said: "I am the bread of life. Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died. This is the bread which comes down from heaven that a man may eat of and not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if anyone eats of this bread, he will live forever," John 6.48-51.

Comparative material: Moses speaking with God is found in the Octateuchs and manuscripts dependent on its recension, in the Ashburnam Pentateuch, fol. 76r., in S. Marco's narthex mosaics. The Manna incident is found in psalters with marginal illuminations and in other manuscripts; the same is true of the quails.

Right 9 Moses Sweetens the Waters of Marah. The Israelites Petition Edom for Passage.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 29; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LX.1; Anderson 17480; Wilpert, RMM, III, 19b; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 108-112; and fig. 21.

Description: As in the previous panel, two scenes are brought together in the upper register within a continuous background of water, golden land, and sky. At the left, the Israelites again complain to Moses, pointing to a stream at their feet, which runs the width of the field. At the right, Moses put his staff to this water, while looking up and over his shoulder to a figure of the deity in the upper right corner. At either side of Moses, three figures crouch to sample the water. Below an army exits from the walls of a city at the left, led by its armed general. The latter speaks to three men at the right, dressed in white tunics and pallia, two of whom appear to be haloed. The background of this lower register is of dark green and blue tesserae, with some yellow highlights; the sky is white.

Condition and reconstruction: The panel was found by Pianigiani in good condition (Proto. 2046); he noted only repair of edges and spots in the field proper. Pinelli had the edges extended and seems to have clipped the bottom edge to provide room for his stucco frame, as may be seen in Eclissi's sketch. The bottom of the lower register suffered a loss in tesserae, including the legs of the horse seen from behind, the feet of the general, and the feet and hems of the three men at the right, all of which have since been replaced in mosaic and fresco. Further restoration may include the heads of the two figures of Moses in the upper register and the area, including the face, occupied by the semi-erect figure at the far right, the golden background, and face of the figure at the right in the group on the left, repairs in mosaic which are difficult to date. Given the smallness of these details, they are generalized by Eclissi; thus he can provide no clue as to whether their restoration pre- or post-dates him. The gold background is a replacement. The left half of the lower register is to be assigned to the battle-master, the rest of the panel is the work of a more "hellenistic" hand.

Textual source: The juxtaposition of scenes of water miracle and the meeting of an army within the registers of one panel lead one to suggest that in this panel are conflated several incidents with similar themes, reflecting or possibly profiting from the confusion and/or repetition in the narrative of Exodus and Numbers. The upper register thus combines the accounts of the sweetening of the waters of Marah (Exodus 15.22-25) with the water from the rock of Mt. Horeb (Exodus 17.1-7 and Numbers 20.2-13), while the lower register depicts the petition of the Israelites to the King of Edom for permission to pass through his land (Numbers 20.14-21). The juxtaposition of water miracle and the verbal encounter between Israelites and desert-dwelling army confirms the identification of the lower register as the Edom incident and not the commonly held identification of a meeting of Moses, Aaron, and Ur with Amalek, for which there is no scriptural evidence. Further, as noted above, two of the three figures to the right in the lower register are haloed. Haloes are not the attribute of Moses, Aaron and Ur, but they are given to angels, for instance, in the scenes of the Vision and Hospitality at Mamre, the appearance of the angel of the Lord to Joshua, and on the triumphal arch. The instructions or models for the mosaic must, thus, have been in Greek to account for the portrayal of the messengers as angels:

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Μωυσῆς ἀγγέλους ἐκ κάδης πρὸς βασιλέα Ἐδὼμ...

(Numbers 20.14)

Typological significance: The water miracles are sacramental typologies. Paul, after drawing the parallel between the Red Sea and Baptism, compares the manna to the body of Christ and the water from the rock to the blood:

> and all were baptized . . . in the sea, and all ate the same supernatural food and all drank the same supernatural drink. For they drank from the supernatural Rock which followed them, and the Rock was Christ.
>
> (I Corinthians 10.2-4)

For Marah as a type of Baptism, cf. Tertullian, On Baptism, 9. Prudentius wrote four lines on Marah, without noting any New Testament figures, Dittochaeon XIII. But Justin accounted the sweetening of the

waters a prefiguration of the cross, Dialogue with Trypho 80. See also Origen, Homily on Exodus VII. Cf. Daniélou for Marah as a universal symbol of baptism, Sacramentum Futuri, 147 ff.

As far as I know, there is no typological interpretation of the Edom incident, but the depiction of the messengers as three angels may be a trinitarian allusion.

Comparative material: The water miracles of Moses are innumerable in Early Christian art, in catacombs, on sarcophagi, in minor sculpted objects. Its popularity continues. The Edom incident appears in one Octateuchm Vat. gr. 747, fol. 171v, and in a fourteenth century picture bible, British Museum, Add. 15277, fol. 45v and 46r.

Right 10 The Battle at Rephidim between the Israelites and the Analekites.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 28; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LIX.2 (flopped); Anderson 17479; Wilpert, RMM, III, 20; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 113-117; and fig. 22.

Description: A single composition fills this panel, though by the nature of the subject it divides itself into upper and lower parts. Below two armies encounter one another, one issuing from the gates of a city (with victory-decorated spandrels) at the left, the other from rocks at the right. The combatants fight with lance, shield, bow and arrow. Two of the army of the left hold standards. Above in the center of the field are three men. The central one, elevated on a small rock holds out his arms and looks to a dextra dei in the upper left corner. The two companions, clad like the third in white tunic and pallium, watch the battle and the central figure. The background depicts mountains in tones of green and gold; the sky is white above the mountains, gradually turning blue.

Condition and reconstruction: Pianigiani found the mosaic severely detached from the wall (Proto. 2046), noting damage and repair on all four sides. The right and left edges had been extended in mosaic by Pinelli and according to Pianigiani, again in fresco by Leo XII. The severely damaged lower quarter of the panel was repaired in fresco and mosaic; Pianigiani credits these repairs to Pinelli and Benedict XIII respectively. Large areas of tesserae are missing in the area of the armies, particularly the center and lower left. Other repairs in mosaic have been made on the drapery of the left man of the upper triad; compare his covered hand and full right sleeve in Barb. lat. 4405 with the dangling member in the present status. Patching is also evident elsewhere on this figure's garments as well as on the neck and cheek of the central figure (Cf. Karpp, 117). The battle scene may be assigned to the battle master.

Textual source: Exodus 17.8-13. After the incident at Mt. Horeb, the Israelites did battle with the Amalekites at Rephidim. Moses appointed Joshua to lead the troops while he went to the top of the mountain with Aaron and Ur, and holding up his arms, assured the Israelites' victory. In the panel, the Amalekites are

seen emerging from their walled city at the left to meet the Israelites appearing from hills at the right.

Typological significance: Typologies in this scene accumulate around the figures of Moses and Joshua. First, Moses, in standing on the mountain top with arms outspread prefigures the position of Christ on the cross, cf. Epistle of Barnabas 12; Justin, Dialogue with Trypho, 90, 111. The apotropaeic position more than aided the Israelite warriors led by Joshua below. The latter, by virtue of his new name Ἰησοῦς or Iesus in Greek and Latin, played an extensive role in typological constructions. For Moses' position and its early patristic commentary, cf. Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 145 ff. For Joshua, see below, Right 12. Isidore granted Amalek an allegorical significance: "Amalech designat diaboli figuram, qui, obvius Dei populo, per signum crucis evincitur" (Allegoriae 63, M.P.L. 83, 109).

Comparative material: Found in the Byzantine Octateuchs, and dependent MSS. Also Paris gr. 510, fol. 424v.

Right 11 — Moses Instructs the Spies.
Stoning of Moses, Caleb,
and Joshua.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 31; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta LXI.1 (flopped); Anderson 17507; Wilpert, RMM, III, 21; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 118-124; and fig. 23.

Description: In the upper register at the left, two men in white tunics and pallia stand before the steps of a temple and speak with a group of men, clad in varicolored tunica exomides and colored mantles. The bodies and faces of five are seen, with the crowns of other heads over theirs. To the right of these men is a pile of large rocks on the top of which is depicted a walled city. Below five men in dalmatics and colored paenulae stone three men, who are enclosed in an aureole against which the stones rebound. A dextra dei appears at the top of the aureole. The three men, in white tunics and gold-brown pallia (the central figure lacks a pallium), run towards a tabernacle, with its open drapes, pendant lamp, and altar table.

Condition and reconstruction: Pianigiani found this panel in good repair (Proto. 2046) and noted some fresco touches at the lower edge by Leo XII, and others by Pinelli. There was no damage to the other edges for the panel was larger than most and did not need augmentation of its edges to fill Pinelli's new stucco frames. Pianigiani found, in fact, under Pinelli's frame, the continuation of the mosaic and traces of its original banding of red, white, and blue. It seems, however, that the mosaic is not as integral as Pianigiani reported. A certain stylistic awkwardness and differences in technique appear on close scrutiny (cf. Karpp, 119-122), yet the present mosaic does agree in its general lines and its lack of stylistic consistency with Eclissi's sketch. We, therefore, have another instance of extensive mosaic repair prior to the XVII c., which may be attributed to Pinelli. In the upper register, the restored area would seem to include the gold background, much of the left section of the field, from the shoulders of the two men down, including all but the uppermost reaches of the temple and possibly the head of the man at the far left. The group of attackers in the lower register seems to have undergone some mutation prior to Eclissi in which at

least one figure has been suppressed. The figure in front, with a horrendous bulge of drapery--white, blue, and gold--may have had a more normal shape before a clumsy restorer incorporated in his person the billowing blue pallium of a companion whose head, arms, and legs no longer persist. Judging by the flatness of the skirts of two figures seen in full and the lost man with blue pallium, restoration below must have been extensive in the area below their waists. There is a similar flatness in the tunic and pallium of the man standing second from the left above. Further restoration below accounts for the head and arms at the right of the group and the chest of the man to the immediate left, interpolations or patches to fill the space once occupied by the man of the blue pallium. The bodies of the three men in the aureole including the right sleeve of the middle one seem to have been restored at the waist line; note the irregular line at the middle of Karpp's fig. 122. Last, this repair seems to have continued at the same level through the tabernacle at the right.

Textual source: Numbers 13. Moses, seconded by Aaron, picks the leaders of each tribe and sends them into the Negeb and hill country to assess the land and strength of the people and cities. The rocks and walled city at the upper right figure the territory to be spied upon. The lower register contains the stoning of Moses, Caleb, and Joshua, reported in Numbers 14.10, an incident in which the people protest the leaders' decision to proceed on into Canaan rather than return to the Wilderness. The aureole around the men has been explained as an intrusion of Midrashic iconography, cf. Nordström, "Rabbinica in frühchristlichen und byzantinischen Illustrationen zum 4 Buch Mose," Figura, n.s. 1 (1959), 28 ff.

Typological significance: The rebellion of the Israelites following the report of the spies, and then again with Korah, and their attack on their leaders, is a historical type of rejection of Christ by the Jews and his subsequent passion. Cf. Origen, Homily on Numbers VII.

Comparative material: The Stoning appears in the Chludoff Psalter, Moscow, Hist. Mus., cod. 129; the sending of the spies in Romanesque biblical cycles in fresco and manuscript form, as well as in several Hebrew Pentateuchs, and the Octateuchs, though the composition differs.

Right 12 Moses Preaches to His People and Lies Down to Die on Mt. Nebo. Joshua Assumes Leadership.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 30; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LX.2; Anderson 17478; Wilpert, RMM, III, 22; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 125-127; and fig. 24.

Description: Two scenes are presented in the top register. At the left a figure in white tunic and pallium, standing on rocks before a group of men, holds open a book. These men, of whom the full and colorfully-robed bodies of two are seen, look to and gesture in conversation with the figure at the left. In the right third of the frame, a small figure, again in white, lies in repose, atop a double range of mountains. In the lower register, two groups of three priests, dressed in sacerdotal mantles, surround a central group of four men in short tunics carrying on their shoulders a large, shallow box-like object.

Condition and reconstruction: Pianigiani found the upper register severely detached from the wall, but he reported no major repair in fresco or mosaic except at the edges which had been extended, left, right, and top (Proto. 2046). The lower register, however, suffered a severe loss of tesserae throughout its bottom quarter, which was repaired in fresco, by Leo XII, according to Pianigiani. As is evident from Wilpert's plate, the golden background near the figure at the upper left has been patched, as may have been this figure's right hip and the outer contour of the first man at the left in the group. Several of the heads of the group of men lack tesserae, as do spots in the sky, background, and reclining figure. Restoration in the lower register appears to have been even more extensive; the background and everything below knee-level is restoration. In addition, much, if not all, of the figure at the far left, including his head and arm, the chin, mouth, and arm, plus some drapery of the second man, again the head of the third, and if not the entire central group, then several of the heads and shoulders. The heads, at least, of the three priests at the right seem to be integral, given a comparison with the elders on the arch (cf. fig. 38). Eclissi has not marked as modern any of this register; Pianigiani's estimation of repair was minimal. Richter and Taylor, on the other hand, dismiss the entire register as an interpolation

(The Golden Age . . ., 207 ff.).

Textual source: The left half of the upper register presents an address of Moses to the Israelites. Because it is combined with his repose on Mt. Nebo or Pisgah (Deut. 34), it is likely to be a depiction of one of his last, containing the covenant he makes at Sinai with his people, reprimands and songs, found in Deuteronomy 29-33. Moses holds his writings in his hands which he gives to the Levites, commanding them to put the writings beside the arc of the covenant (Deuteronomy 31.24-26). At the right, the dying Moses is depicted looking down from the mountain top on the lands the Lord promised to the Israelites. The lower register contains a seeming transfer of the arc of the covenant but the clue to its identification may have resided in the restored figure at the far left. I suggest for this scene the taking over of command by Joshua (Joshua 1.10 ff.), who was once to be seen in his typical military attire at the far left, before being converted in an unskilled repair into a priest-figure, who retains Joshua's lance! It is, in fact, possible that most of the register, except the three priests at the right, is modern. Since Eclissi sketched the panel much as it is today, the repair may be credited to Pinelli. This hypothesis may find confirmation in the findings of Pianigiani: he found the top half of the register severely detached from the wall, but not the bottom half, thus indicating that the bottom half may have been removed entirely by Pinelli's workers (as they had done on the left wall) so bad was its state of conservation. Then a new plaster bed was laid, and the mosaic reconstructed.

Typological significance: The covenant of Moses with the Israelites is the partner to Christ's covenant with the Christians. The giving of the books of the law to the Levites parallels Christ's giving of the law to Peter, and according to Aphrahat, Christ's covenant with all the nations (Demonstrations XXI). Paul undervalues this typological relationship in Galatians 3.10, 23-26. Aprahat again relates the death of Moses to that of Christ (ibid.).
Whatever its original composition the lower register once contained some event representing Joshua in command. Due to his name and accomplishments, Joshua has a considerable role in patristic literature. Justin, among many others, comments on the significance of his

name, finding it an indication of Moses' Messianic perceptions and an indication of the knowledge of Christ in the patriarchal era as well as a proof of the efficacy of the name (Dialogue with Trypho 75). Second, according to Daniélou, Joshua was employed not only as a type of Christ, but in opposition to Moses: Joshua appears as a figure in the Old Testament indicative of the senility ("caducité") of the Mosaic law to which another is called to succeed (Sacramentum Futuri, 203 ff.). Last, a combination of the typology of his name and his taking over from Moses the leadership of the Israelites and the perfection of the Exodus in the arrival in the Holy Land, make of Joshua a superb type of Christ, for in leading the people into Canaan, he prefigures Christ's giving the people eternal life:

> . . . inveniet Iesum, non hoc ab initio vitae suae, sed nomine mutato appellatum. qui ergo dixit: nomen meum est in illo Iesu, ipse est verus Iesus, rector et ductor populi in hereditatem vitae aeternae secundum testamentum novum, cuius figura erat testamentum vetus. ita quantum adtinet ad propheticum adparatum nec geri nec dici aliquid possit insignius, quandoquidem res perducta est usque ad nominis expressionem,
>
> Augustine, Contra Faustum 16.19 (C.S.E.L. 25.6.1, 461)

Cf. Justin, Dialogue with Trypho 113. In general, on Joshua's typologies, cf. Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 203-256.

Comparative material: Teaching, instructing, preaching, and law-delivering scenes of Moses are innumerable, e.g., Grandval Bible, Brit. Mus. Add. 10546, fol. 25b; Vivian Bible, Paris, Bib. Nat. Ms. lat. 1, fol. 27b; S. Paolo Bible, fol. 30v. Moses' death occurs in the Octateuchs, but in a different iconography.

Right 13 The Commemoration of the Crossing of the Jordan. The Sending of Spies to Jericho.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 33; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LXII.1; Anderson 17506; Wilpert, RMM, III, 23; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 128-132; and fig. 25.

Description: In the upper register, the scene develops from right to left. At the right, a diademed general in tunic, cuirass, and paladumentum and his guard look on at the action taking place center and left. In the center, four men in short tunics carry a box-like object. At their feet and then turning and crossing the background obliquely runs a blue river. Beyond the river at the left, five men, clad like the other four, bear large stones on their shoulders. Below, where the course of action resumes its normal left to right direction, the general backed by a guard of three, sends off two men, one of whom looks back over his shoulder. At the right are the walls of a city on whose battlements stand four small people.

Condition and reconstruction: Pianigiani found the panel detached from the wall, but noted only slight patches of restoration in fresco in the body of the mosaic and in fresco and mosaic along the edges (Proto. 2046). The lower edge was particularly ravaged. The Eclissi sketch offers no essential differences with the present condition of the panel. The mosaic does, however, present some problems. First, as in many panels, the gold area in the background obtrudes, running irregularly along the left shore of the river, but not the right, above, and below, first, against the body of the soldier at the left, thus effacing the body belonging to the head at the left and second, in the middle between the city and the men. The disparity in style between the group of the general and his men and the porters in the upper register lead one to suggest an extensive repair effected on the latter before Eclissi's day, i,e., by Pinelli. The panel was primarily the work of the battle-master.

Textual source: Joshua 3.17-4.11. After the Israelites crossed the Jordan, Joshua commanded twelve men, one from each tribe, to each take a stone upon his shoulders to commemorate the passage of the arc of the covenant over the Jordan. The panel depicts the command of Joshua at the right, the carrying of stones

from the Jordan at the left (Joshua 4.8). Meanwhile the bearers of the arc stand on dry ground in the midst of the river where they were left in the narrative (Joshua 3.17), when Joshua issued his orders. (Cf. Oxford Annotated Bible, notes on Joshua 4.1-5.1, 266 f., for an explanation of the confusion in the scriptural text). Further grounds for assuming a vast restoration of this register is the fact that the porters are not dressed in priestly robes, as the text requires, and as other representations of the same scene show (cf. Weitzmann, The Joshua Roll, 9 ff.) but in clumsily proportioned girt tunics. It is possible that before the damage set in there was a better representation of the priests bearing the arc, standing in the midst of parted waters, as in Byzantine MSS, e.g., the Joshua Roll.
Below and out of chronological order, Joshua sends out two men to spy on Jericho, Joshua 2.1 ff.

Typological significance: The twelve stones in the Jordan, like the twelve tribes, figure the twelve apostles, cf. Prudentius, Dittochaeon XV:

> In fontem refluo Iordanis gurgite fertur,
> dum calcanda Dei populis vada sicca relinquit;
> testes bis seni lapides, quos flumine in ipso
> constituere patres in formam discipulorum.
> (Loeb, II, 352)

Also, the crossing of the Jordan was a figure of baptism, particularly for Origen, cf. Commentary on John VI.46, and Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 233 ff. For the lower register, see below, Right 14.

Comparative material: Octateuchs, Joshua Roll, Vatican Lib., Ms. gr. 431, S. Paolo bible, fol. 58r, and Paulinus' frescoes at Nola (Carmen 27.518-528).

Right 14 The Angel of the Lord Appears to Joshua.
The Spies Return from Jericho.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 32; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LXI.2 (flopped); Anderson 17477; Wilpert, RMM, III, 24; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 133-137; and fig. 26.

Description: In the upper register the central figure, in tunic and orange mantle, inclines in respect and with covered hands before a haloed figure to the right standing on a small mountain, dressed in military attire--tunic, cuirass, paladumentum,--and carrying a lance. Occupying the left third of the field, behind the bowing figure, is a group of soldiers, clad in sleeved tunics and chlamides, helmeted, bearing spears and shields. Below, in two scenes, in which the action develops from right to left, can be seen a woman letting a man down from the walls of a city while his armed companion waits below in a landscape consisting of mountains and an irregular patch of blue-grey to the left. The left half contains two men, in military attire, in conversation with a young general, who is backed by a guard of three. The background of both registers is comprised of green ground, gold middle-ground, green mountains, and a grey and gold sky.

Condition and reconstruction: Once again, all four edges have undergone repair in fresco and mosaic, by Pinelli and Leo XII, respectively, according to Pianigiani (Proto. 2046). The restorer found the mosaic detached from the wall and noted patching in the body of the panel by Pinelli. The upper right and left edges were augmented by the latter to fill his new frame. Pianigiani seems to have underestimated the extent of repair. First and most obviously, in comparison with Eclissi's sketch, it may be observed that the right hand and arm of the haloed figure have been replaced as well as substantial areas in the lower register, both in figures and golden background. This panel is the work of the battle-master.

Textual source: Joshua 5.13-14. The angel of the Lord appears to Joshua before Jericho to explain to him the tactics for the siege. In the Septuagint he is described as a man, "ἄνθρωπον, ... καὶ ἡ ῥομφαία ἐσπασμένη ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ;" in the Vulgate, "virum . . . evaginatum tenentem gladium," while in the pre-Vulgate Vetus Italica bible, he has a "frameam" in hand. It is thus

the last text which agrees with the iconography of this panel (cf. Künzle, "Per una visione organica . . .," 162, and above, Chapter II, 37). The lower register, again out of chronological order, returns to the events of Joshua 2, and depicts the return of the spies from Jericho. At the right, Rahab, who lived in a house built into the walls (2.15) lowers the spies down the city wall by a rope; they travel through and hide in the hills, center (2.22) and return to Joshua, left (2.23).

Typological significance: The angel of the Lord is one of the theophanies of God in the Old Testament. Rahab is a popular figure in typologies; she is primarily taken as a figure of the Gentiles or of the Church, cf. Origen, Homilies on Joshua III; Isidore, Allegoriae 73. A detailed presentation of her role in patristic literature is again provided by Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 217 ff.

Comparative material: Joshua Roll, several of the Octateuchs, Paris gr. 510, fol. 226v., Menologion of Basil II, Vatican Lib., Ms. gr.1613, fol. 3.

Right 15 The Walls of Jericho.
The Arc and Trumpets.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 35; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LXIII.1; Anderson 17476; Wilpert, RMM, III, 25; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 138-142; and fig. 27.

Description: In the upper register, two groups of soldiers, armed with shields and lances, flank a walled city. The walls at the left fall out at an angle, and in one piece. Atop the walls a woman stands before a house. Below, four small groups of figures participate in different activities within a landscape like that above, green foreground, gold middle- and mountainous background. At the left, three small men in girt tunics with colored patches blow trumpets; in the left center reappear the four porters with the arc; the general and his guard look on in right center, while at the right three more blow trumpets.

Condition and reconstruction: Pianigiani records, as is obvious in early XX c. photographs, that the edges were augmented on three sides to fill Pinelli's frames. Traces of the original mosaic border persisted at the lower edge. The gold background had been restored. As with the previous panel, the writer feels this panel to be the work of the battle-master. However, the poor quality of the arc-bearing group may not be his responsibility, rather a repair of Pinelli, for it is found in Eclissi's sketch.

Textual source: Joshua 6.2 ff. provides the details for the siege of Jericho, to be circumvallated for seven days by priests carrying the arc of the covenant and seven trumpeters. The destruction of the city on the seventh day is beginning in the panel, with Rahab, who will be saved, standing atop the walls. Contrary to the text the trumpeters number only six, not seven, nor do the bearers of the arc wear priestly attire.

Typological significance: The fall of Jericho has several meanings. Schefold credits Jerome with an explanation of it as a prophecy of the destruction of the world through the preaching of the Gospel ("Altchristliche Bilderzyklen," 310). By its depiction of Rahab, it figures further the popular example of her faith, which, with the aid of mystical symbols, enabled her to survive,

cf. Prudentius, Dittochaeon XVI:

> Procubuit Iericho, sola stant atria Raab.
> hospita sanctorum meretrix (tanta est fidei vis)
> incolumi secura domo spectabile coccum
> ignibus adversis in signum sanguinis offert.
> (Loeb, II, 354)

Justin, Dialogue with Trypho 111, also comments on the prophetic value of the incident, as does Origen, Homily on Joshua VII. The eschatological typology of the fall is traced by Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri, 246 ff.

Comparative material: The conquest of Jericho, never in the same poor composition, is found with greater or less detail in the Octateuchs, Paris gr. 510, fol. 424v., and the S. Paolo Bible, fol. 58v., for example.

Right 16 The Legates from Gibeon and the Battle at Gibeon. Joshua Speaks with God and Departs to aid the Gibeonites

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 34; Ciampiani, Vetera Monimenta, LXII.2; Anderson 17475; Wilpert, RMM, III, 26; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 143-147; and fig. 28.

Description: In the scene at the left in the upper register, an armed general speaks with two soldiers leaning towards him. Behind the latter are three soldiers. The right half of the frame depicts the siege of a walled city with soldiers attacking the walls on the left, and the city's defenders atop its walls. Below, at the left, a general, in different military gear, speaks with a bust of Christ in the sky, and at the right he is seen mounted on horseback amidst his troops about to pass through an archway, at the extreme right.

Condition and reconstruction: This panel retains the original champfered corners within the mosaic augmentation of Pinelli. It provides the strongest evidence for the attribution of the work of the battle-master to the original workshop (in contradistinction to Richter's and Taylor's theory that all the work in this style was a restoration) for here in an unbroken stretch of mosaic are found the champfered corner, upper right, remains of the mosaic frame, upper and right edges, and the battle at the walled city executed in this style. Pianigiani credited Benedict XIII with mosaic repair of the bust of Christ and patches in the army in the scene above, and around the two generals below (Proto. 2046). Further damage was sustained by much of the lower half of the lower register, since repaired in mosaic and fresco, and by much of the sky, the right edge and possibly the mounted figure and the legs and arms of the figure to the left. The change in the general's costume is a mystery.

Textual source: Joshua 10.6. In the upper register men of Gibeon are sent to Joshua's camp at Gilgal to report the attack on their city by the Amorites, pictured by the besieged city in the right half of the frame. Below Joshua is assured by Christ of his ultimate victory

over the league of kings, while at the left, he sets out from Gilgal in terms of an imperial profectio, Joshua 10.8-9.

Typological significance:

Comparative material: The Octateuchs have an entirely different iconography for the Gibeonite request, as does the Joshua Roll.

Right 17 Joshua Makes the Amorites Flee. The Hail of Stones from the Hand of God.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 37; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LXIV.1; Anderson 17509; Wilpert, RMM, III, 27; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 148-152; and fig. 29.

Description: In the centralized composition in the upper register, a mounted diademed general, lance in hand, surrounded by his troops, attacks an army. The horse of the general treads on the naked bodies of the fallen, while the enemy, clad much like the other army, flee to caves, one at the left, and three at the right. Below, the army held back by its general, looks on as the hand of God lets hail stones fall on soldiers. Some are felled by the hail in the middle of the field, while three others, one on a horse, flee to the right.

Condition and reconstruction: Here, too, the champfered corners and a tri-colored mosaic frame are preserved beyond which is Pinelli's vari-colored patching. The lower register was cut by the latter and had suffered further damage by 1640, when, in Eclissi's sketch, the bare wall is to be seen, damage repaired since in imitation tessellation and fresco. Other than this, the panel is well-preserved.

Textual source: Joshua 10.10-11. Joshua comes upon the Amorites above, while below, those not killed in battle, are left to God.

Typological significance:

Comparative material: The scenes are differently composed in the Octateuchs and the Joshua Roll.

Right 18 Joshua Stills the Sun and Moon.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 36; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LXIII.2; Anderson 17514; Wilpert, RMM, III, 28a; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., 153-154; and fig. 30.

Description: In the upper center of the full-panel composition a general, armed with lance, standing on rocks, turns slightly to the left, and holds up his right arm. Beyond his hand in the sky are pictured the sun and moon. To either side of the general, filling the lower two-thirds of the panel, are large groups of soldiers, carrying many lances. The background is gold and green; the sky white, gold, grey, and blue.

Condition and reconstruction: Beyond the surviving mosaic frame at the top as well as the lateral edge, Pinelli's artists augmented the size of the panel. The figure of the general was largely restored in mosaic by Leo XII (though Pianigiani credits Benedict XIII with this repair, Proto. 2046), including his head, right arm, and legs. The sun, once replaced by Pinelli in fresco (Pianigiani) was restored again by Pianigiani in mosaic. The four edges were augmented in varicolored cubes; the lower edge and a large triangular area at the lower right were marked modern by Eclissi and since repainted several times. The mosaic reached the XX c. in poor condition.

Textual source: Joshua 10.12-14. Joshua halts the sun and moon in order to complete the massacre of the Amorites.

Typological significance: Like the other Ἰησοῦς , on whose death the sun and moon went into eclipse, this Ἰησοῦς , too, has power over the heavens, cf. Aphrahat, Demonstrations, XXI.

Comparative material: Paris gr. 510, fol. 226v., Joshua Roll, Octateuchs.

Right 19 The Amorite Kings are Brought to Joshua. Their Execution.

Illustrations: Vat. Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 39; Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, LXIV,2; Anderson 17474; Wilpert, RMM, III, 28b; Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., figs. 155-157; and fig. 31.

Description: In the centralized upper register the diminutive figure of a general addresses two similarly composed groups to either side. These groups consist of bound prisoners and their guards, at the left three prisoners and three guards, at the right, the remains of one prisoner and three guards. The left half of the lower register alone survives and contains a general with a guard of three supervising a now-lost action in the right half of the field.

Condition and reconstruction: Eclissi's sketch marks as antique only the group of prisoners and guards at the upper left, and the heads of those at the right below, the general and his two soldiers down to their knees. The rest, or two thirds of the field, was restored by Pinelli. The upper edge preserves its original mosaic border and beyond it and the lateral edges are the mosaic strips enlarging the field to fill Pinelli's frame. Marble cubes of white and giallo antico were inserted in the midst of the mosaic by Leo XII's workers.

Textual source: Joshua 10.22-26. From its scant remains, the panel would seem to depict the last incident in the Amorite affair: the presentation of the five prisoner-kings to Joshua, above, and their hanging at his command, below.

Typological significance:

Comparative material: Joshua Roll and Octateuchs.

APPENDIX B

A BRIEF RESTORATION HISTORY OF THE MOSAICS

The last extensive repairs to the nave and arch were initiated by Pius XI, and took place between 1929-1931 and 1936-1940. Biagio Biagetti directed the restorations for the Vatican Museum; Giorgio Pianigiani was his overseer. Pianigiani's reports on the conditions of the nave mosaics and the repairs his team made are to be found in the archives of the Laboratorio Vaticano per il Restauro delle Opera d'Arte, protocolli nos. 1400, 1526, and 2046. He prepared large Anderson photographs with color-keyed notations of all prior restoration, damage, loss of tesserae and other superficial irregularities. In addition, plaster casts were made of sections of the nave panels, tessellated face and brick-marked rear; these, too, reside in the Vatican cellars. On the basis of these materials and his own deductions, Biagetti published four articles on the mosaics in the Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia, ser. 3.13 (1937), 15 (1939), 18 (1941-42), and 22 (1946-47).

The aims of this restoration were conservation and consolidation and artistic integration (Protocollo 1400, 5). Due to the latter, photographic documentation of the mosaics prior to these repairs provides more reliable information for their study than their actual condition. Photographs of Anderson, Alinari, and Wilpert's reproductions provide this

material.[1] But Pianigiani's reports and the annotated photographs are useful for their documentation of the condition in which the mosaics were found, for the technical surveys Pianigiani made, and for his attempts to attribute to a particular era the various restored areas. Unfortunately, neither written reports on the condition of the arch nor its repair are to be found in the archives.

Pianigiani reported that the nave panels were in a ruinous condition, particularly those on the left. Many were detached from the wall, the edges nibbled away, and often, major parts of a panel were completely lost. He noted that the panels on the right had once been restored in mosaic, while those restorations of the left "erano pochissimi e quasi tutti piccolissimi," (Protocollo 1526, 9). Five panels on the right were repaired in mosaic, with scant regard to the matching of colors. Some cubes, he noted, were painted gold after application to the stucco bed.

In brief, Pianigiani did the following: he consolidated, either by removal and resetting or by cement injection, the mosaics of the nave (Protocollo 1400, 9 ff.), and by removal in 111 pieces the mosaics of the arch. He cleaned and

[1]Alinari photograph nos. 28297, 30121-30151; Anderson photograph numbers 17424, 17472-17482, 17485-17490, 17505-17517, 17653-17659; Wilpert, RMM, III, pls. 2-28, 53-74.

repaired the mosaics, replacing bald patches with tesserae or fresco. He removed the gilded stucco frames of the sixteenth century, revealing in the process the original shape of the panels, with their champfered corners, and the remains of the original mosaic and stucco framing device. Likewise, on the arch he removed two large sixteenth century pilasters and reconstructed the mosaic damaged by the installation of these pilasters.

Pianigiani informs us (Protocollo 2046 and in notes on the pertinent Anderson photographs) that his restoration was preceded by another small campaign which effected the cleaning (and subsequent damage to earlier fresco and stucco repair) of several panels on the right side of the nave (nos. 3, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17) and repair in mosaic of the first panel on the left. Neither the date nor the executor of this work has been recorded.

Between 1848 and 1850, the first steps were taken in an attempt to restore the mosaics of the nave. The records of this enterprise are kept in the Archivio del Stato, Archivo del Camerlengato, tit. IV, pte. II, busta 187. Artists were commissioned and a scaffolding erected. The frieze of the nave entablature was restored; the scaffolding stood idle for a number of years and was finally taken down. The panels were never touched.

In 1824, during the pontificate of Leo XII, repairs on

the mosaics of nave, arch, tribune, and loggia were initiated. Documents of this campaign are retained in the same file as those of 1848, Archivio del Camerlengato, tit. IV, pte. II, busta 187, No. 884.[2] Under the direction of Vincenzo Camuccini and his overseer Michele Keck (Michael Kŏch), two mosaicists, one painter, and a plasterer spent five months on the nave, arch, and tribune, cleaning, clamping, retouching the mosaics and their prior fresco repairs. At that time, Keck reported the condition of the mosaics as follows: on the left were nineteen panels, of which nine "sono tutto dipinti, e li altri dieci chi per meta un terza e quarto restaurato in dipinto, quello che e in mosaico ha pisogno essere polito, e li Dipinti rinfrescati e ritaccati, e due di questi avarno pisogno ancora in qualche parte di essere rintonacato ove il muro si è staccato per il retro." Of the nineteen on the right wall, "sono cinque di questi quadri tutto dipinti, che hano egualmente pisogno il vivenimento e ritocco, li altri 14 hanno picoli pezzi di restauro in dipinto," and for these 14 "non sono multo afero."[3]

That the mosaics of the nave were repaired with tesserae as well as paint is evident from the contracts and

[2] LEONI.XII. Pont. Max cuius munificentia . . . operibus musivis omniq templi ornatu qua detersis qua restitutis . . . an. Chr. M.D.CCC.XXX, Forcella, Iscrizioni, XI, 102, no. 212.

[3] Keck's wording contained in the drafts of the estimates he presented.

bills presented for work done. Keck estimated 80 palmi worth of work to do in mosaic ("Il restauro che si dovreppe fare in mosaico essendo come descrito, palmi 80, a 28 pauli il palmo fa . . . 224.") Camuccini states in a contract the cost of tesseare: "smalti . . . a valutarsi a bajocchi 40 la libra."[4] But it appears that only some of the right clerestorey's panels were subjected to a mosaicist's repair. Wilpert determined six panels in the Joshua cycle and was impressed by their restorer's "archeologischen Unkenntnis."[5]

That such was the quality of his work is not surprising considering that he submitted his account for the restoration and washing of the fifteen panels, plus some work in the tribune, within a month of the start of the campaign.[6] By the end of the second month, the nave was finished entirely for the painter who had retouched "li quadri che sono dipinti in maniera di mosaico, esistente nella gran navata" submitted his bill.[7]

The mosaics of the triumphal arch, "il primo arco della Trivuno," Keck noted to be "in piu parte restaurato in

[4]Camuccini's letter of May 23, 1824.

[5]Wilpert, RMM, I, 421.

[6]Bill of June 26, 1824: "Nicola Rocchegiani ha ristaurato e pulito li quadri che son in mosaico nella gran navata nella parte della sagrestia, in oltre ha egli pure lavorato nella mosaico della trivuna, che asieme con il primo delli quadri, e il lavoro - in palmi riquadrati 11, onci 10, con il convenuto prezzo e l'imposto 33, 10 . . ."

[7]Bill of July 22, 1824.

dipinto," while the remaining tessellated areas were disfigured by clamps and similar devices of which he decided more were needed.[8] The repair of the arch was estimated to be 10 palmi in extent and occupied one painter for a month in washing and retouching.[9] If a mosaicist was employed on the arch, it is not specified in the accounts, unless included within the repairs of the tribune-proper.

According to Bianchini, Benedict XIII, 1724-1730, had the mosaics of the triumphal arch cleaned and restored.[10] This pope left no record of his work, but the next Benedict, XIV, 1743-1750, under whom extensive redecoration and rebuilding of the basilica was carried out, mentions in an inscription the restoration of pictures, though he does not specify which: ". . . PICTURAS DETERSO SITU VENUSTATEM RESTITUERIT . . ."[11] As a result, Benedict XIV has been

[8]From Keck's estimate.

[9]From the estimate and the bill for August 24, 1824.

[10]"Hunc arcum (triumphalem), hosce parietes, hasque imagines tot mysteriis ac memoriis Ecclesiae venerabiles, liberalitatis Tuae beneficio nuper a squalore et ab excidio vindicatos, non dices iam, beatissime Pater, privatis ausibus nostris tibi exhiberi" (Wilpert, RMM I, 419, note 2),". . . cum prae caeteris custodita religioso tot saecularum cultu, et peculiari tutela aetati nostrae sint praeservata quippe quae et novissimo studio ac largitate sanctissimi in Christo Patris Benedicti XIII, hoc ipso quo dissertatio imprimitur anno post reparatam tecti universi, et sacellorum structuram, omni squalore deterso, splendori pristino sint restituta," Bianchini, De Musivis imaginibus . . ., 1728, cap. 2 (M.P.L. 128, 265).

[11]Forcella, Iscrizioni, XI, 97, no. 199.

credited with restoring the mosaics by some,[12] while others, on the authority of Bianchini, attribute repairs to Benedict XIII.[13] At any rate, one of these popes was responsible for the cleaning of the areas in question, the installation of clamps and repair. According to Pianigiani, Benedict's (XIII) repairs were in mosaic and he noted traces of this primarily on the panels of the right clerestorey, with minor touches on the left and on the arch.[14] The extent of this repair is very limited. Pianigiani's sources for his attribution of work in restoration of tesserae are not known to the present writer. It is possible that he may be crediting to this period work executed by Leo XII's workers or those of Cardinal Pinelli.

Ciampini, who studied the mosaics with the aid of Barb. lat. 4405, reported that the arch mosaics were cleaned at his request: "Petitioni meae non solùm indulsit, verùm etiam propriis sumptibus emundari Musivum opus curavit (utinam aliae supra coronidem expressae Tabulae eandem fortunam sortitae fuissent) imò avulsâ ligneâ coronide, quae summitatem

[12]Krautheimer, "SMM," 9 (under "1743-1740"); De Rossi, Musaici Cristiani, 32; and Niccola Roisecco, Roma antica e moderna, 1865, 531 f., as transcribed by Pesarini, Vat. lat. 13127, fol. 427 f., Benedict XIV is credited with having "ripuliti e ristorati li mosaici."

[13]Wilpert, RMM, I, 419; Schuchert, S. Maria Maggiore, 27, quoting Bianchini; and Pianigiani, notations on photographs.

[14]Pianigiani notations on photographs.

Figurarum primi ordinis usque ad capita earundem tegebat, veram historiam, quam dictae Figurae repraesentabant, aperuit."[15] He makes brief mention of the previous restoration, that of Pinelli, noting that some parts of the mosaic were restored in paint.[16]

At the behest of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Antonio Eclissi sketched the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, ca. 1640. Preserved as Vatican codex Barb. lat. 4405, the wash drawings are of inestimable value in reconstructing the mosaics for they mark the appearance and condition of the mosaics before several centuries and several restorers more had effected them. Eclissi's sketches are accurate in presenting the broad features and lines of the mosaics; his recording of posture and gesture is nearly faultless though the proportions of the figures are often attenuated and their clothes not reproduced in detail. He carefully marked the restored parts of the nave panels as "moderno" and "moderno dipinto" but not those of the arch, the sketch of which (fol. 1) may well be incomplete. He noted the damage to the panels, some lacking painted replacements, others revealing the bare brick wall from which the mosaic and its plaster bed had fallen.

[15] Vetera Monimenta, 200.

[16] Ciampini mentions Pinelli by name twice, ibid., 197 and 211. In his descriptions of the arch, he mentions damage to one of the Magi in the Adoration scene by a pilaster, 208, and repair to the Bethlehem and its lambs in painted plaster, 209.

To say the least, it is difficult to assess the nature of Cardinal Pinelli's work, but it was great both in extent and effect. He must have found the mosaics in a ruinous condition, and unfortunately, he inflicted some further damage. He left a terse account of his work as archpriest of the church from 1587-1611, in an inscription once over the main portal: "DOMINICVS S.R.E. CARD. PINELLVS ARCHIPRESBYTER ORNAVIT AN. DOM. MDXCIII."[17] The notices of De Angelis and Panciroli are equally unrevealing,[18] but the few remarks of Ciampini and the notations of Eclissi help in a reconstruction of Pinelli's work. Yet these indications may be modest in comparison to the extent of the Cardinal's work.

Pinelli was responsible for major changes in the decoration of the clerestorey walls.[19] To begin with, he installed a new cornice and architrave over the columns; this entablature may have been more massive than the one it replaced, thus impinging on the lower borders of the mosaic panels, which were then clipped to accommodate both the cornice and

[17]Forcella, Iscrizioni, XI, 53, no. 100.

[18]De Angelis makes several references in passing to Pinelli's activity, never specifying it in regard to the mosaics, Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris; Panciroli, likewise, mentions Pinelli's work without reference to the mosaics, I Tesori Nascosti (Rome, 1625), 253. Pinelli's repair is also cited in Vallic. I.49, "Acta visitationis multarum ecclesiarum Urbis peractae a Clemente VIII ab anno 1592 ad annum 1600," fol. 25: "Imagines opere musivo . . . restaurentur et magis illustrentur," as transcribed by Pesarini, Vat. lat. 13127, fol. 425.

[19]Krautheimer, "SMM," 26 ff., G. Biasiotti, "Le basiliche romane di S. Maria Maggiore e di S. Martino ai Monti

the new frames Pinelli had designed for them.[20] These frames, of gilded stucco and quadratic in form, replaced the original tabernacle setting of the panels. Dismayed by the diversity in the sizes of the panels, Pinelli designed new frames imposing a unified order and necessitating the clipping of the edges of larger panels and the extension of the edges of smaller ones. This work of extension is to be seen on panels on the right wall as a vari-colored speckled edging of tesserae.[21] Further, the original brick pilasters membering the walls from entablature to stucco frieze under the roof were given a fluted, gilded stucco sleeve.[22] At the same time, the diminutive double order of fluted columns flanking each pilaster was suppressed. In the positions of alternate windows, filled in in the ninth century, a New Testament fresco cycle was installed.[23]

The arch, whose upper reaches were already hidden

---

nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze," Diss. Pont. Accad. 2.13 (1918), 249 ff.

[20]According to Krautheimer, the dimensions of the new entablature were the same as the old, "SMM," 50, but the mosaic panels were obviously clipped, as is apparent from Eclissi's drawings of the well-preserved panels from the right wall, as well as the stumpy character of the lower registers of these panels as they persist today.

[21]Cf. the color plates in Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . ., Battle at Rephidem, fig. 113, Crossing of the Jordan, fig. 128, and Joshua makes the Amorites Flee, fig. 148.

[22]Krautheimer, "SMM," 50.

[23]Ibid., and the same author, "Recent Publications on S. Maria Maggiore in Rome," A.J.A. 46 (1942), 374.

behind a wooden partition left behind by the Borgias[24] from the construction of the coffered ceiling, was provided with a pair of gilded pilasters, one at either side. These served to cut off about one meter of tessellated surface per side.

The east wall, too, was redecorated by Pinelli. He removed the surviving line of the Sixtus inscription, seen several years earlier by Panvinio, and incrusted the wall with marble plaques, one contained his inscription.[25]

The nature of the work he had done on the mosaics-proper is harder to assess. Of the forty-two panels of the nave, some were in such a bad state that they were replaced entirely in fresco: six on the left, in bays 8, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, and two on the right, 20 and 21.[26] Fourteen of the remaining panels were restored in considerable portions or entire registers, as recorded by Eclissi. Pinelli is credited with repairing in fresco alone, but this may not be true.[27] There are several areas of tessellation, primarily on the arch, which are stylistically incompatible with the fifth century, yet they predate Eclissi. One is, therefore, forced

[24]Wilpert, RMM, I, 417 f.

[25]Cf. De Angelis' engraving, Basilicae S. Maria Maioris, 95.

[26]The conditions of the panels in bays 4, 5, and 6 on the left in Pinelli's day is not known, for they were torn down in the construction of the entrance to the Cappella Borghese, and thus were not recorded by Eclissi.

[27]Wilpert, RMM, I, 418; Künzle, "Per una visione organica," 174.

to conclude that Pinelli's workers repaired in mosaic cubes as well as with a brush and paint. Or are we to credit these repairs to an unsung predecessor of Eclissi? One unsung predecessor did, in fact, restore a panel: the Miracle of the Quails was repaired substantially but long before the seventeenth century. Bertelli dates this work to the ninth century.[28]

In summary, the mosaics were damaged in 1500 years by smoke, wax, humidity, other natural factors, and unfortunately, by several restorers and redecorators. Restorations to right the natural damages were in the nature of replastering and repainting by Pinelli, Benedict XIII, Leo XII, and Pianigiani, and in the nature of mosaic reintegration by Leo XII, Pianigiani, a medieval worker, and apparently, Pinelli.

[28]Bertelli, "Un antico restauro nei mosaici di Santa Maria Maggiore," Paragone 6.63 (1955), 40 ff.

CORRIGENDA

page 1, line 6	architectural
page 7, line 8	in the border, not by the border
page 7, note 5	The inscription of Cardinal Pinelli should be typed in capital letters.
page 38, line 12	figures 48 and 49, not 47 and 48
page 44, note 4	Constantius' dates are 337-361, not 337-363.
page 48, line 9	forty-nine four-verse tituli
page 55, note 84, lines 13 and 17	Revue, not Révue
page 70, line 23	predominates, not redominates
page 153, line 5	Samuel, not Solomon
page 157, note 89	dubliée, not oubliee
page 287, line 16	visione, not visions

ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS

A.B.	Art Bulletin
ACTA	Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae
A.J.A.	American Journal of Archaeology
Atlas	C. Mohrmann, F. van der Meer, Atlas of the Early Christian World, London, 1959
B.d.A.	Bollettino d'Arte
Brodsky, "L'Iconographie oubliée . . ."	N. A. Brodsky, "L'Iconographie oubliée de l'arc éphésien de Sainte Marie Majeure à Rome," Byzantion 31 (1961), 413 ff., and again, as a monograph, in the series, Bibliothèque de Byzantion 1 (Brussels, 1966)
C.A.C.	Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi
Corpus	R. Krautheimer, Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae, Vatican City, 1937 ff.
C.S.E.L.	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
D.A.C.L.	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, eds. F. Cabrol, H. Leclerq, Paris, 1907 ff.
Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri	J. Daniélou, Les figures du Christ dans l'Ancien Testament: Sacramentum Futuri, Paris, 1950
De Rossi, Inscriptiones	G. B. De Rossi, Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, Rome, 1857-1915, 1922-1964
Diehl, I.L.C.V.	E. Diehl, Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres, Berlin, 1924

Diss. Pont. Accad.	Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia
D. O. Papers	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
D.T.C.	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, eds. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, É. Amann, Paris, 1925 ff.
Forcella, Iscrizioni	V. Forcella, Iscrizioni delle Chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri, Rome, 1869-1884
Garber, Wirkungen	J. Garber, Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters- und Pauls-Basiliken in Rom, Berlin, Vienna, 1918
G.C.S.	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
Grabar, L'Empereur . . .	A. Grabar, L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin, Paris, 1936
Ihm, Apsismalerei	C. Ihm, Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom IV Jh. bis zur Mitte des VIII Jh. (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie 4), Wiesbaden, 1960
Karpp, Die Mosaiken . . .	H. Karpp, ed. Die Frühchristlichen und Mittelalterlichen Mosaiken in Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom, Baden-Baden, 1966
Krautheimer, "SMM"	R. Krautheimer, "S. Maria Maggiore," Corpus, III, 1967, 1 ff.
Künzle, "Per una visione organica . . ."	P. Künzle, "Per una visione organica dei mosaici antichi di S. Maria Maggiore," Rendic. Pont. Accad. 34 (1961-2), 153 ff.

Loeb	The Loeb Classical Library
L.P.	L. Duchesne, ed., Le Liber Pontificalis, Paris, 1886 ff.
Mél. Rome	Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome
M.G.H., Auct. Ant. IX	Th. Mommsen, ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimorum Tomus IX, Chronica Minora, Saec. IV, V, VI, VII, Berlin, 1892
M.P.G.	J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series graeca . . ., Paris, 1857-1903
M.P.L.	J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series latina . . ., Paris, 1844-1905
Omont, Les MSS Grecs	H. Omont, Miniatures des plus anciens manuscripts grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du IV au XVI Siècle, Paris, 1924
R.A.C.	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
Rendic. Pont. Accad.	Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia
Röm. Mitt.	Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilungen
R. Q. Schr.	Romische Quartalschrift
Schefold, "Altchristliche Bilderzyklen"	K. Schefold, "Altchristliche Bilderzyklen: Bassussarkophag und Santa Maria Maggiore," R.A.C. 16 (1939), 289 ff.
S. Chrét.	Sources Chrétiennes
Schuchert, S. Maria Maggiore	A. Schuchert, S. Maria Maggiore, I. Die Gründungsgeschichte und die ursprüngliche Apsisanlage (Studi di Antichità Cristiana 15), Vatican City, 1939

Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten	W. F. Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des fruhen Mittelalters, 2nd ed., Mainz, 1952
Volbach, Kunst	W. F. Volbach, Frühchristliche Kunst, Munich, 1958
Waetzoldt, Kopien	S. Waetzoldt, Die Kopien des XVII Jh. nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom (Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 18), Vienna, 1964
Wilpert, RMM	J. Wilpert, Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV bis XIII Jh., 3rd ed., Freiburg i/B, 1924

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

P. de Angelis, Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe a Liberio papa I usque ad Paulum V Pont. Max. descriptio et delineatio, Rome, 1621.

J. Ciampini, Vetera Monimenta, Rome, 1690.

F. Bianchini, Dissertatio secunda De Musivis imaginibus a Xysto Papa III. collocatis in amplificatione Basilicae Liberianae, post Oecumenicam Synodum Ephesinam, Rome, 1728, M.P.L. 128, 263 ff.

J. l'Heureux (Macarius). Hagioglypta, sive picturae et sculpturae sacrae antiquiores praesertim quae Romae reperiuntur, 1605, R. Garrucci, ed., Paris, 1856.

C. J. von Hefele. Conciliengeschichte, Freiburg i/B, II, 1875.

E. Steinmann. Die Tituli und die kirchenliche Wandmalerei im Abendlande vom V. bis zur XI Jh., Leipzig, 1892.

S. Merkle. "Die Ambrosianischen Tituli." R. Q. Schr. 10 (1896), 185 ff.

G. B. de Rossi. Musaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo XV, Rome, 1899.

J. P. Richter, A. C. Taylor. The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art, London, 1904.

P. Sisto Scaglia. I Mosaici Antichi della Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore in Roma, Rome, 1910.

G. Biasiotti. "L'arco trionfale di Santa Maria Maggiore in Roma." B.d.A. 8 (1914), 73 ff.

_____. "La basilica di S. Maria Maggiore prima delle innovazioni del secolo XVI." Mél. Rome 35 (1915), 15 ff.

_____. "La basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma." B.d.A. 9 (1915), 20 ff., 136 ff.

J. Garber. Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters- und Pauls-Basiliken in Rom, Berlin, Vienna, 1918.

G. Biasiotti. "Le basiliche romane di S. Maria Maggiore e di S. Martino ai Monti nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze." Diss. Pont. Accad. ser. 2.13 (1918), 249 ff.

M. van Berchem, É. Clouzot. Mosaïques Chrétiennes du IVme au Xme Siècle, Geneva, 1924.

J. Wilpert. Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV bis XIII Jh., 3rd ed., Freiburg i/B, 1924.

E. Caspar. Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft, Tübingen, I, 1930.

B. Biagetti. "Splendori di arte antica nella basilica Liberiana rinnovellati dal Sommo Pontefice Pio XI." L'Illustrazione Vaticana 2.5 (1931), 26-32.

_____. "Intorno ai restauri di Pio XI nella basilica Liberiana." Ibid., 2.6 (1931), 27-33.

J. Wilpert. "La proclamazione Efesina e i mosaici della basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore." Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia 7 (1931), 203 ff.

W. Köhler. Die Karolingischen Minaturen: Die Schule von Tours I.2, Berlin, 1933, 183 ff.

L. de Bruyne. "Nuove ricerche iconografiche sui mosaici dell' arco trionfale di S. Maria Maggiore." R.A.C. 13 (1936), 239 ff.

N. M. Denis-Boulet, "Les Mosaiques Antiques de Sainte-Marie-Majeure." Gazette des Beaux-Arts, ser. 6.15' (1936), 65 ff.

A. Grabar. L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin, Paris, 1936.

B. Biagetti. "Osservazioni sui musaici della navata centrale nella basilica di S. Maria Maggiore in Roma." Rendic. Pont. Accad. ser. 3.13 (1937), 101 ff.

L. de Bruyne. "Intorno ai mosaici della navata di S. Maria Maggiore." R.A.C. 15 (1938), 281 ff.

B. Biagetti. "Intorno ai musaici della navata centrale nella Basilica Liberiana di S. Maria Maggiore." Rendic. Pont. Accad. ser. 3.15 (1939), 47 ff.

K. Schefold. "Altchristliche Bilderzyklen: Bassussarkophag und Santa Maria Maggiore." R.A.C. 16 (1939), 289 ff.

A. Schuchert. S. Maria Maggiore. I. Die Gründungsgeschichte der Basilika und die ursprüngliche Apsisanlage (Studi di Antichità Cristiana 15), Vatican City, 1939.

R. C. Goldschmidt. Paulinus' Churches at Nola, Amsterdam, 1940.

B. Biagetti. "Mosaici - Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore." Rendic. Pont. Accad. ser. 3.18 (1941-2), 292 ff.

R. Krautheimer. "Recent Publications on S. Maria Maggiore in Rome." A.J.A. 46 (1942), 373 ff.

B. Biagetti. "L'antica struttura della navata centrale della basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore e i suoi musaici e stucchi." Rendic. Pont. Accad. ser. 3.22 (1946-7), 241 ff.

R. Krautheimer. "Some drawings of early Christian basilicas in Rome: St. Peter's and S. Maria Maggiore." A.B. 31 (1949), 211 ff.

J. Daniélou. Les Figures du Christ dans l'Ancien Testament: Sacramentum Futuri, Paris, 1950.

C. Bertelli. "Un antico restauro nei mosaici di Santa Maria Maggiore." Paragone 6.63 (1955), 40 ff.

C. Cecchelli. I Mosaici della Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore, Turin, 1956.

J. White. "Cavallini and the Lost Frescoes in S. Paolo." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 19 (1956), 84 ff.

C. Ihm. Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom IV Jh. bis zur Mitte des VIII Jh. (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie 4), Wiesbaden, 1960.

A. Weis. "Die Geburtsgeschichte Christi am Triumphbogen von Santa Maria Maggiore in Rom." Das Münster 13 (1960), 73 ff.

G. A. Wellen. Theotokos, eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit, Utrecht, 1960.

C. Bertelli. La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, 1961.

N. A. Brodsky. "L'Iconographie oubliée de l'arc éphésien de Sainte Marie Majeure à Rome." Byzantion 31 (1961), 413 ff.

A. W. Byvanck. "Das Problem der Mosaiken von Santa Maria Maggiore." Festschrift Hans Hahnloser, eds. E. J. Beer, P. Hofer, L. Mojom, Basel, 1961.

R. Krautheimer. "The Architecture of Sixtus III: A Fifth Century Renascence?" De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. M. Meiss. New York, 1961, I, 291 ff.

P. Künzle. "Per una visions organica dei mosaici antichi di S. Maria Maggiore." Rendic. Pont. Accad. ser. 3.34 (1961-2), 153 ff.

M.-L. Thérel. "Une image de la sybille sur l'arc triomphale de Sainte-Marie-Majeure à Rome?" Cahiers archéologiques 12 (1961), 153 ff.

S. Waetzoldt. "Zur Ikonographie des Triumphbogenmosaiks von St. Paul in Rom." Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae zu Ehren von L. Bruhns, F. G. W. Metternich, L. Schudt (Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 16), Munich, 1961, 19 ff.

P. Goubert. "L'Arc Éphésien de Sainte-Marie-Majeure et les évangiles apocryphes." Mélanges Eugène Tisserant, II.1 (Studi e Testi 232), Vatican City, 1964, 187 ff.

J. Leclerq, R. Dolle, eds. Léon le Grand. Sermons, I Sources Chrétiennes 22 bis, 2nd ed., Paris, 1964.

S. Waetzoldt. Die Kopien des XVII Jh. nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom (Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 18), Vienna, 1964.

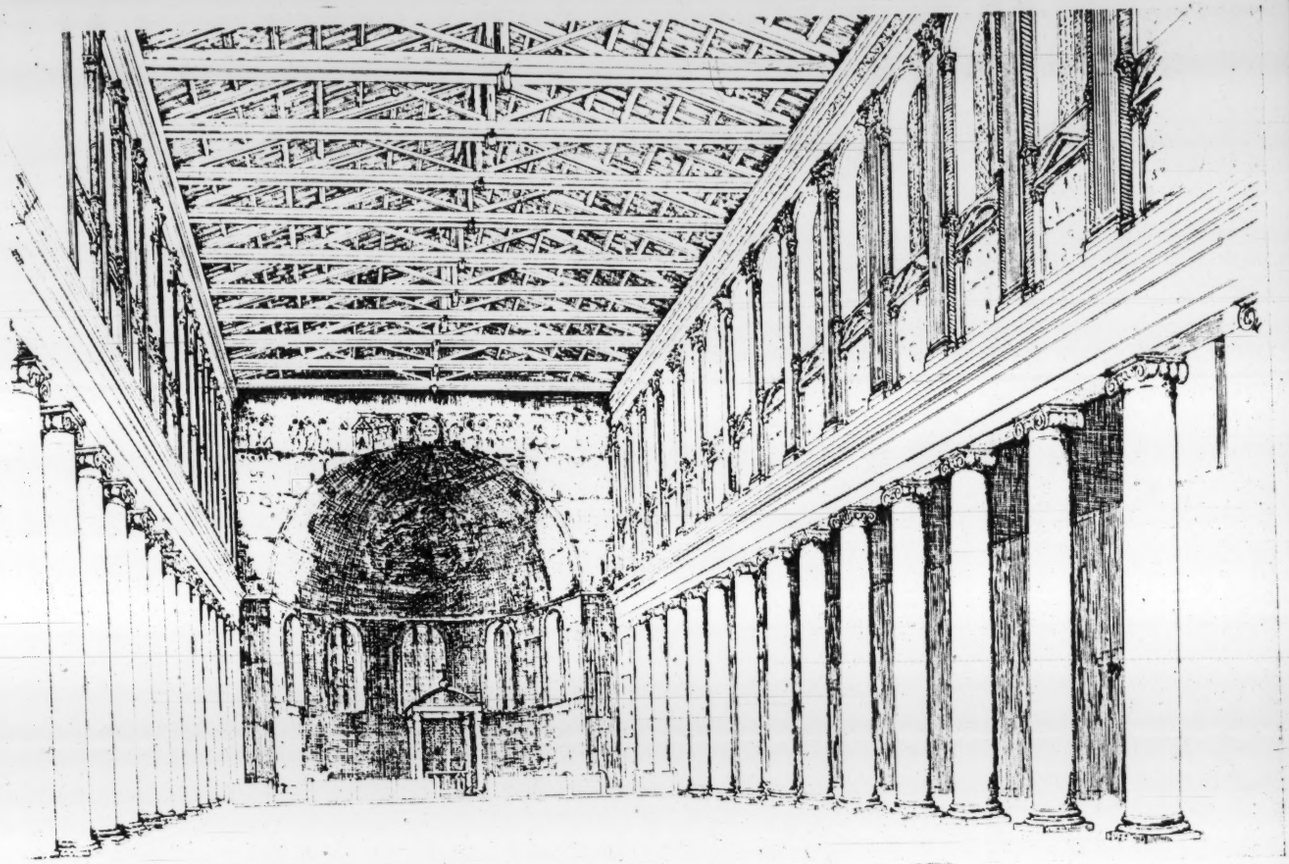
E. H. Kantorowicz. "'Puer Exoriens:' On the Hypapante in the Mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore." Selected Studies, New York, 1965, 25 ff.

N. A. Brodsky. L'Iconographie oubliée de l'arc éphésien de Sainte-Marie Majeure à Rome (Bibliothèque de Byzantion 1), Brussels, 1966.

J. Kollwitz. "Der Josuazyklus von S. Maria Maggiore." R. Q. Schr. 61 (1966), 105 ff.

R. Krautheimer. "S. Maria Maggiore." Corpus, III, 1967, 1 ff.

G. Matthiae. Mosaici Medioevali delle Chiese di Roma, Rome, 1967.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 1 Appearance of the nave in the fifth century

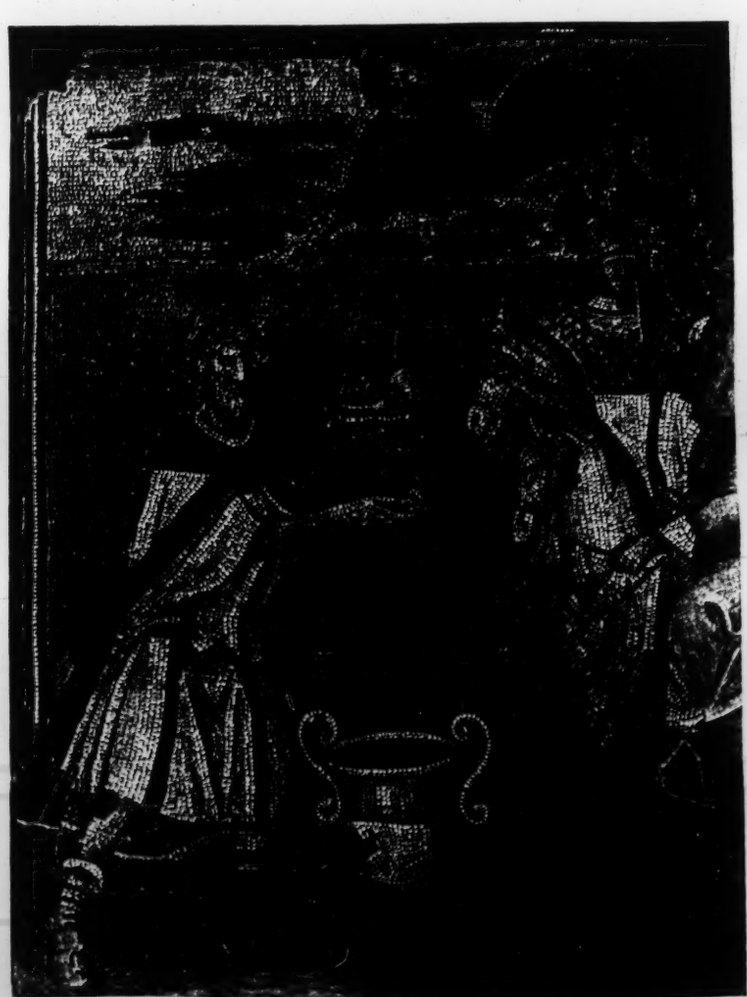


Fig. 2 Abraham and Melchisedech (Left 1)

Fig. 3 Vision and Hospitality at Mamre (Left 2)

Fig. 4 Separation of Abraham and Lot (Left 3)

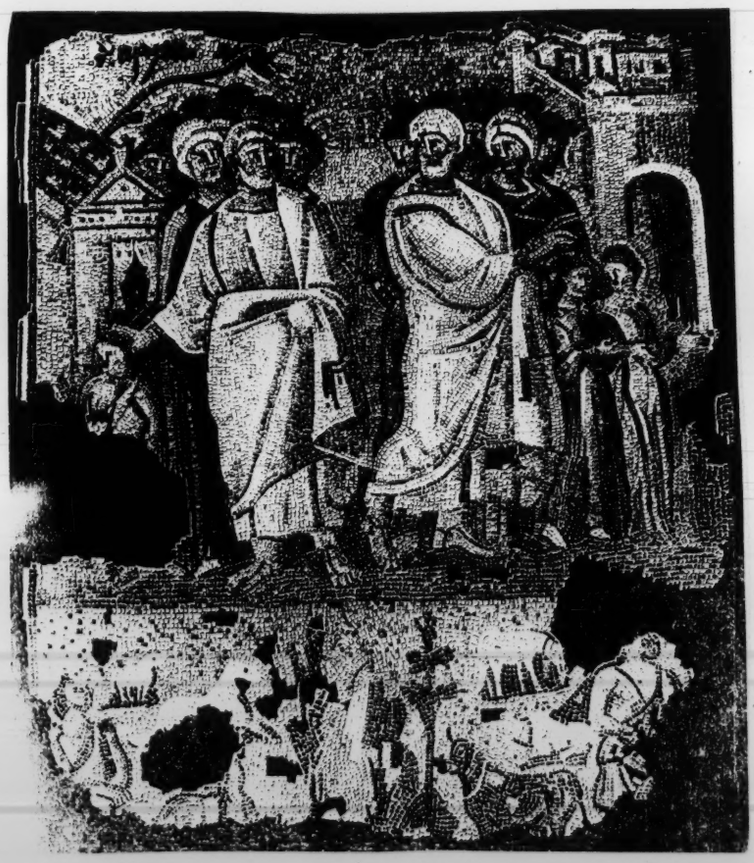


Fig. 5 Issac blesses Jacob; the return of Esau (Left 7)

Fig. 6 Rachel announces the arrival of Jacob; greeting of Jacob and Laban (Left 9)

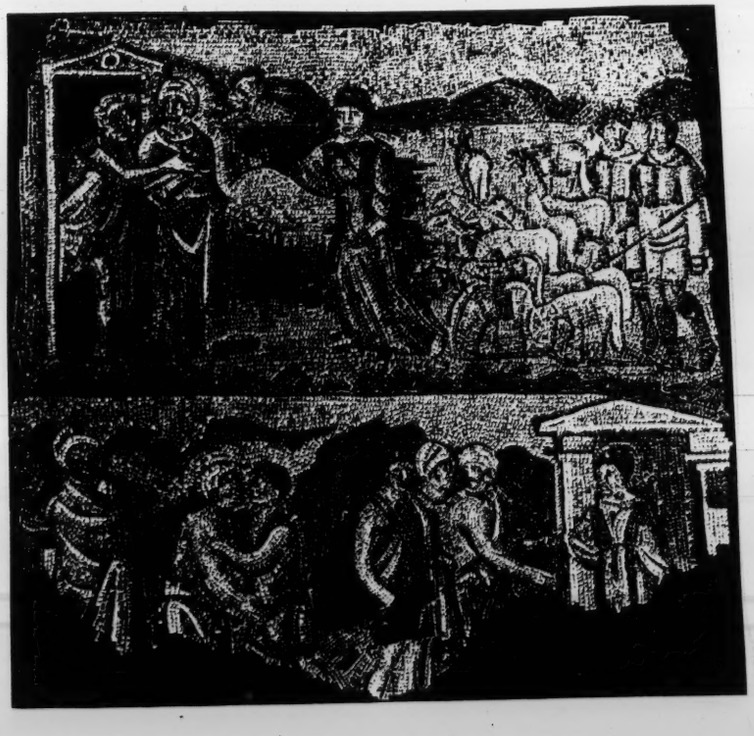


Fig. 7 Jacob asks the hand of Rachel
(Left 10)

Fig. 8 Jacob's reproach and marriage
(Left 11)

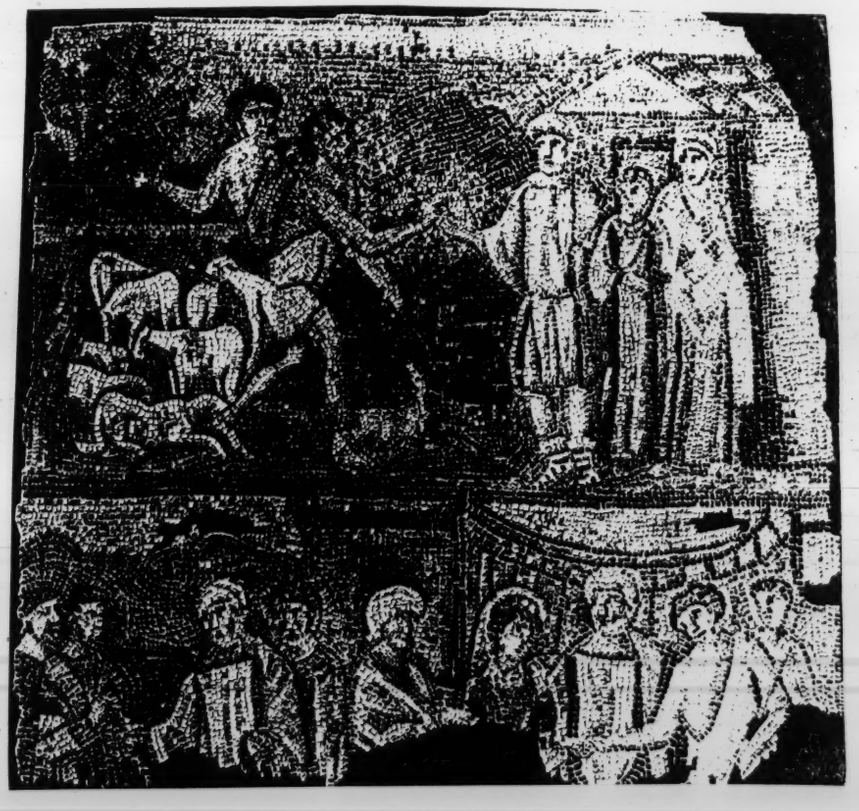
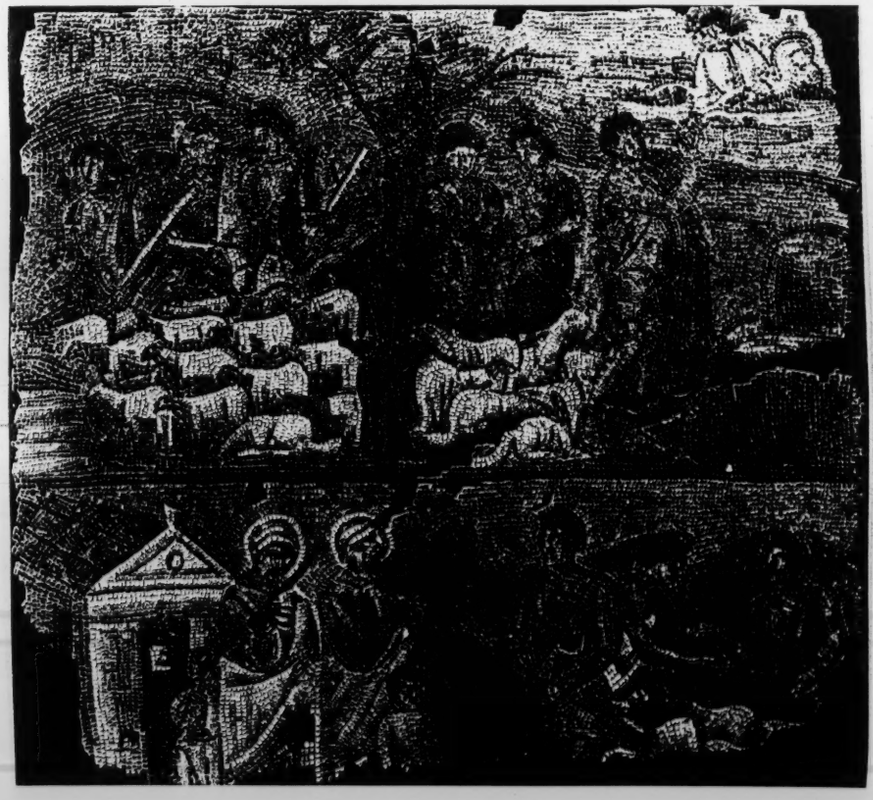


Fig. 9 Jacob asks recompense; division of the flocks (Left 12)

Fig. 10 Division of the flocks, Jacob speaks with God; and tells the women of departure (Left 13)



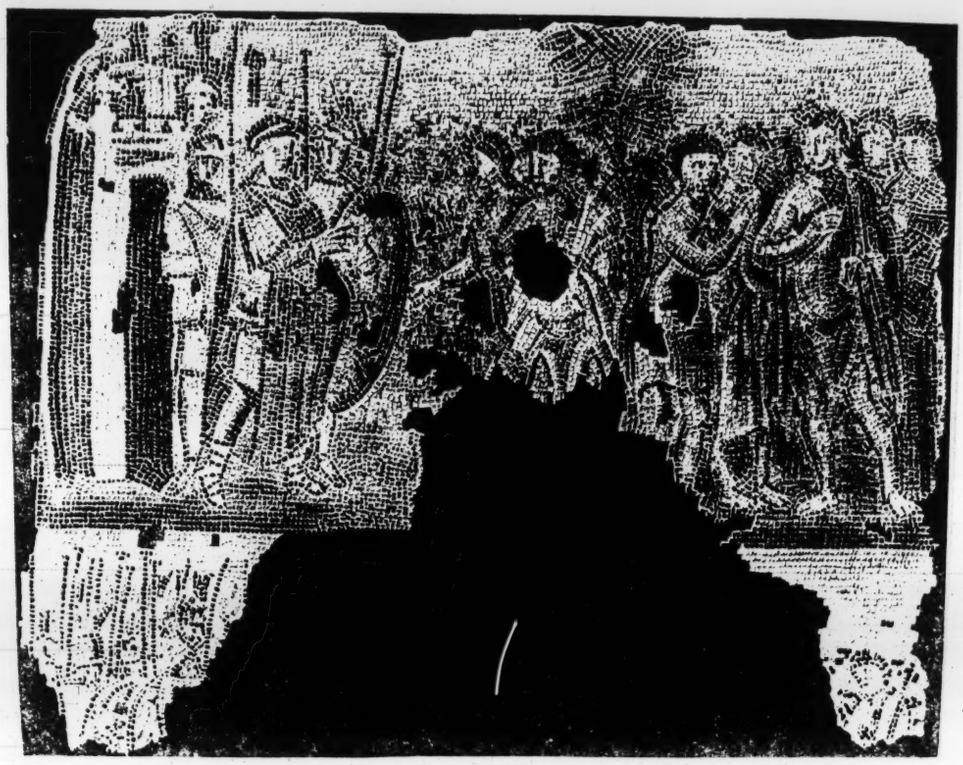
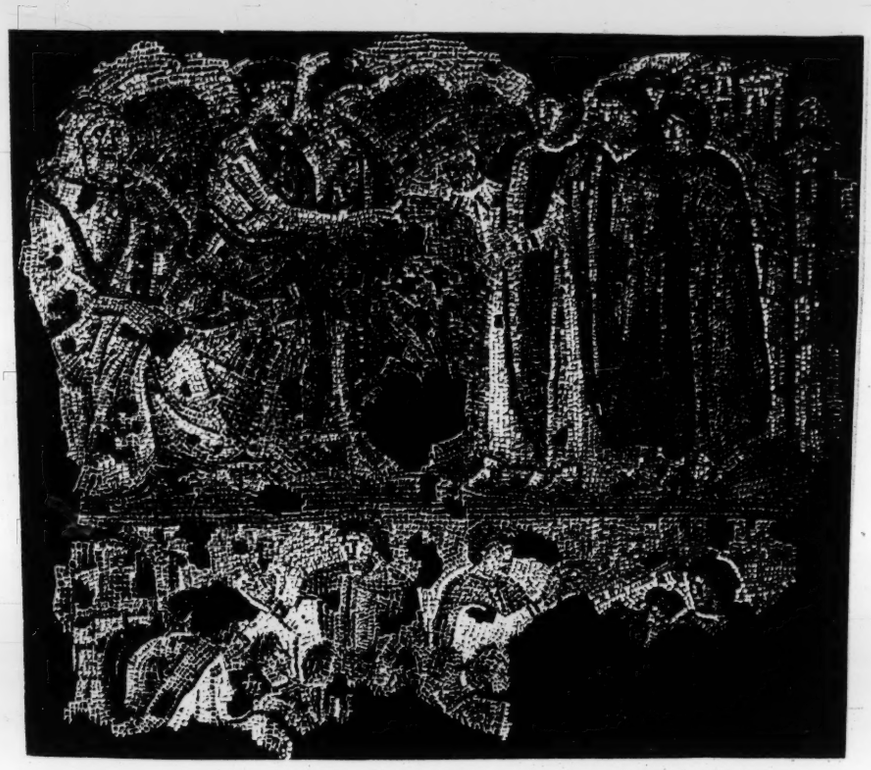


Fig. 11 Jacob's envoys to Esau (Left 15)

Fig. 12 Hemor and Schechem ask the hand of Dinah; the brothers report her rape (Left 17)



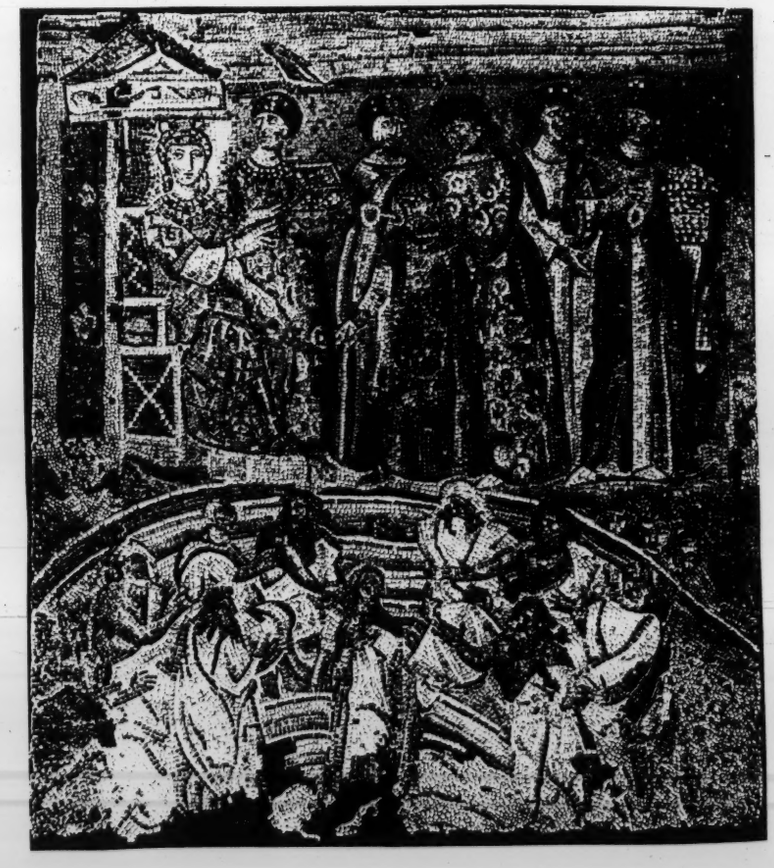


Fig. 13 Hemor and Schechem appeal to Jacob; and announce the requirement of circumcision (Left 18)

Fig. 14 Moses before Pharoah's daughter; and amidst the Egyptian wisemen (Right 2)

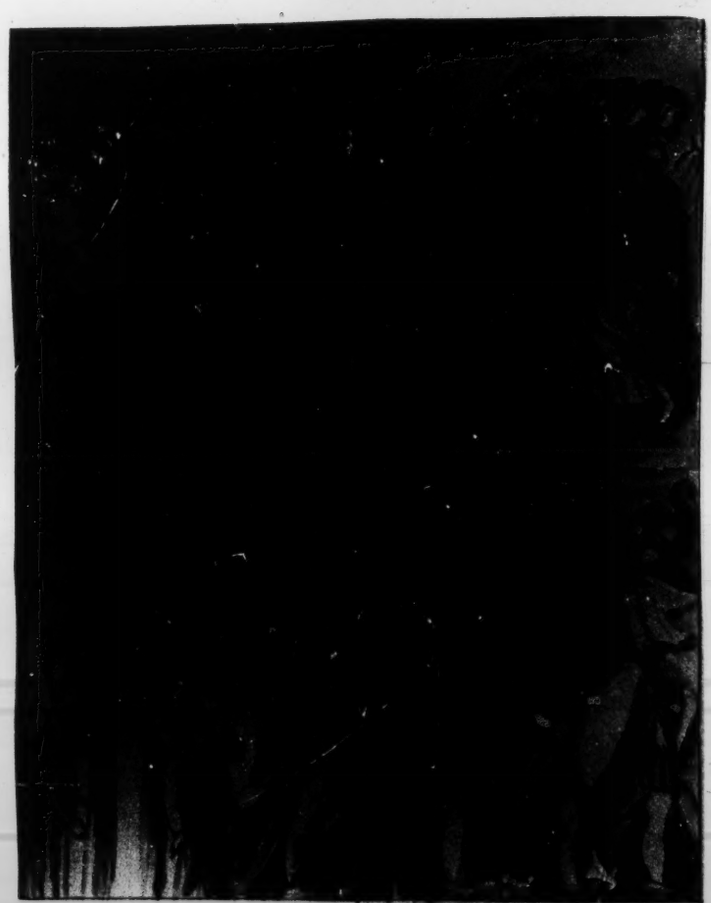


Fig. 15 Moses weds Sephora; pastoral and call (Right 3)

Fig. 16 Meeting of Aaron and Moses; Moses performs snake miracle (Right 4)

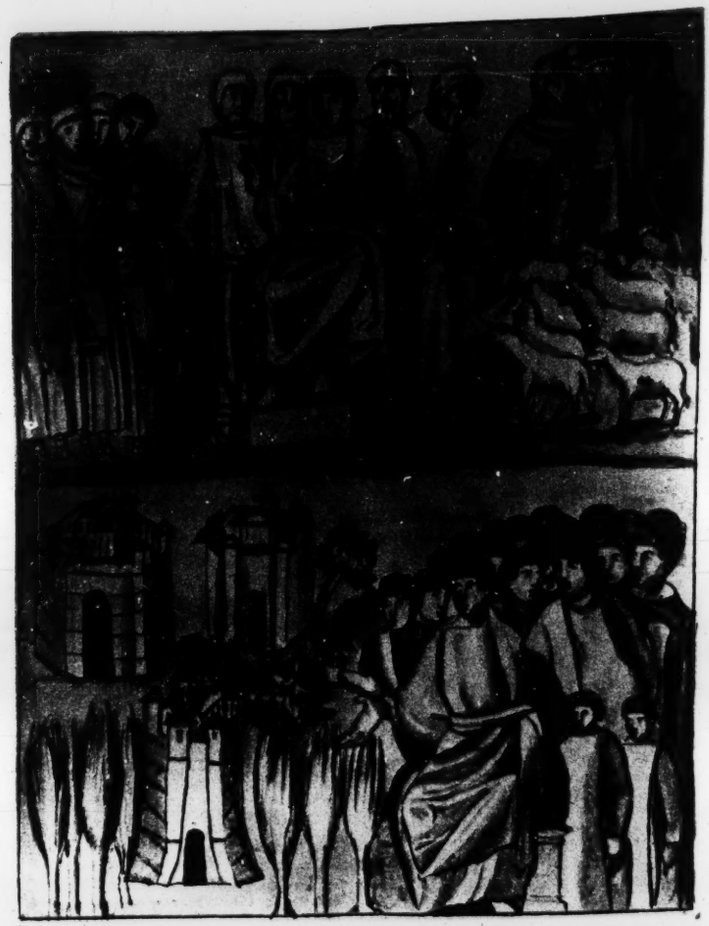


Fig. 17 Moses requests Passover Lamb; describes Promised Land (Right 5)

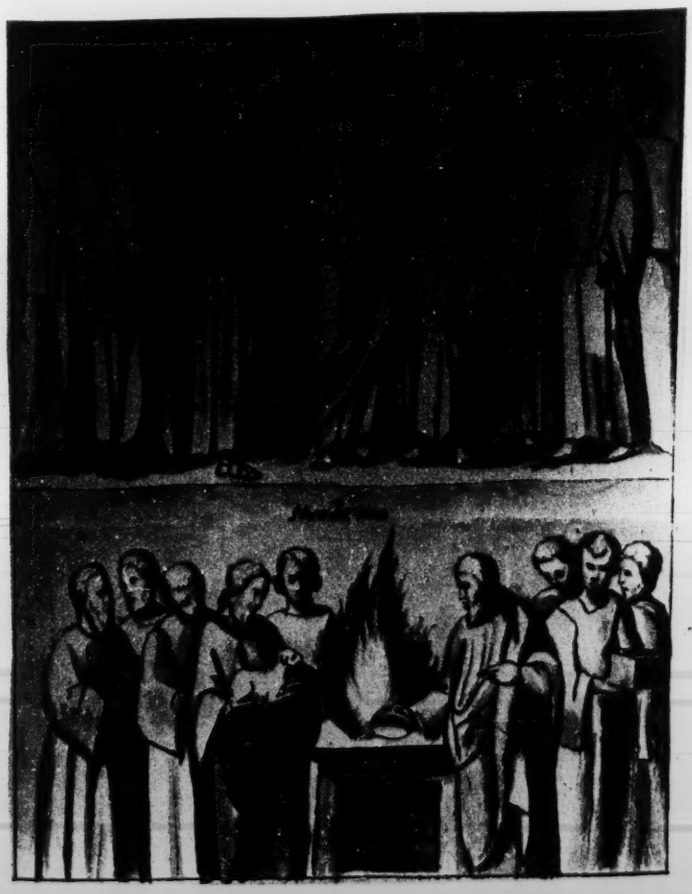


Fig. 18 Requirements for the Passover Lamb (Right 6)

Fig. 19 Crossing the Red Sea (Right 7)

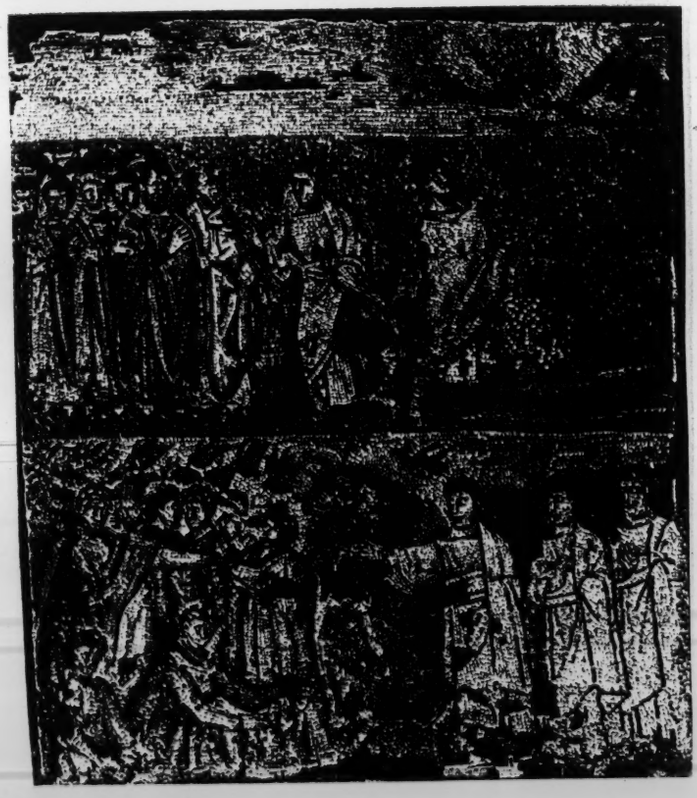


Fig. 20 Complaint of the Israelites, Moses speaks with God; the rain of quails (Right 8)

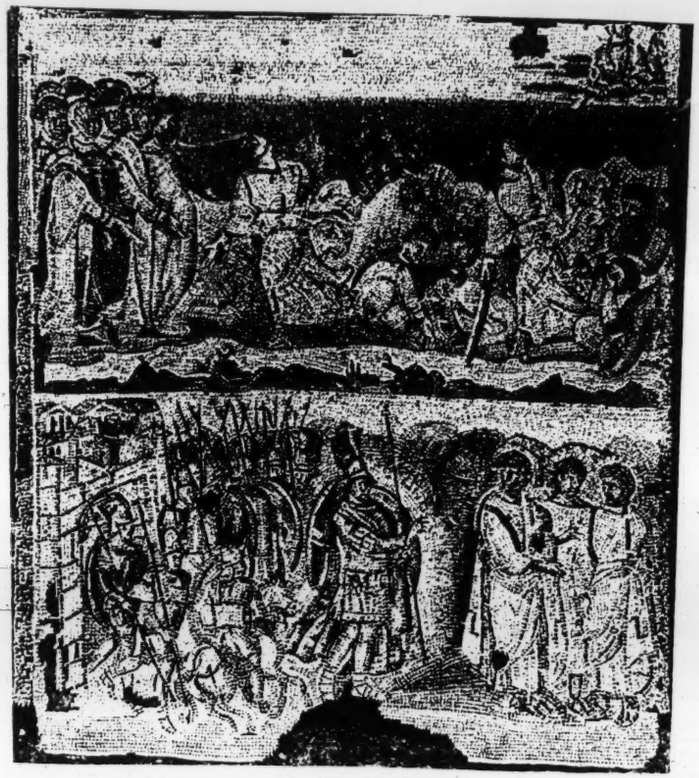
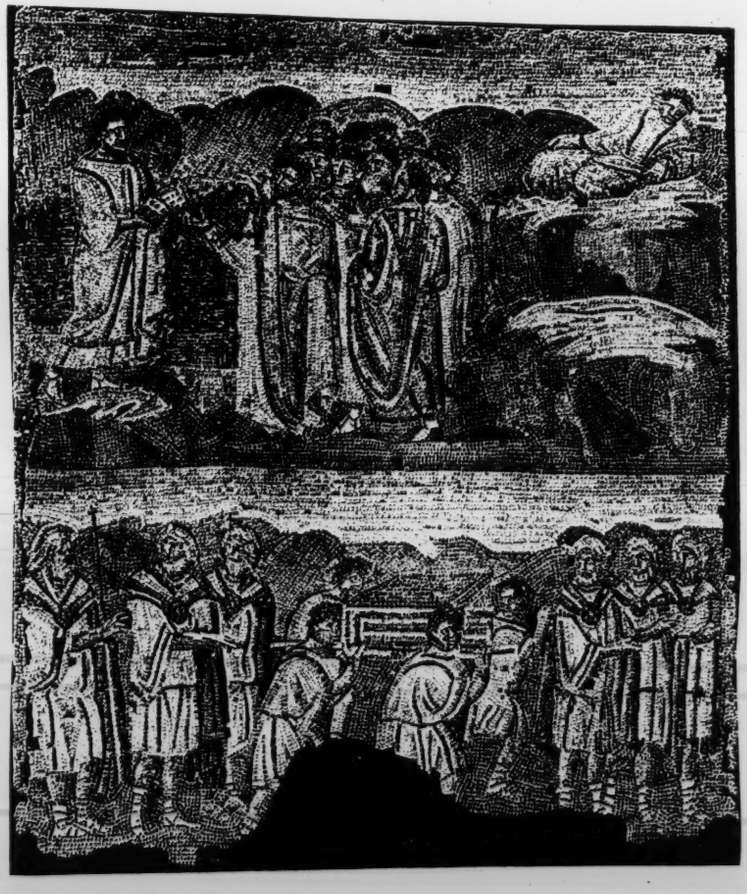


Fig. 21 Complaint of the Israelites, Moses sweetens the waters of Marah; the envoys to the King of Edom (Right 9)

Fig. 22 Battle at Rephidim (Right 10)

Fig. 23 Moses instructs the spies; stoning of Moses, Caleb and Joshua (Right 11)

Fig. 24 Moses preaches to his people, death of Moses; Joshua assumes leadership (Right 12)



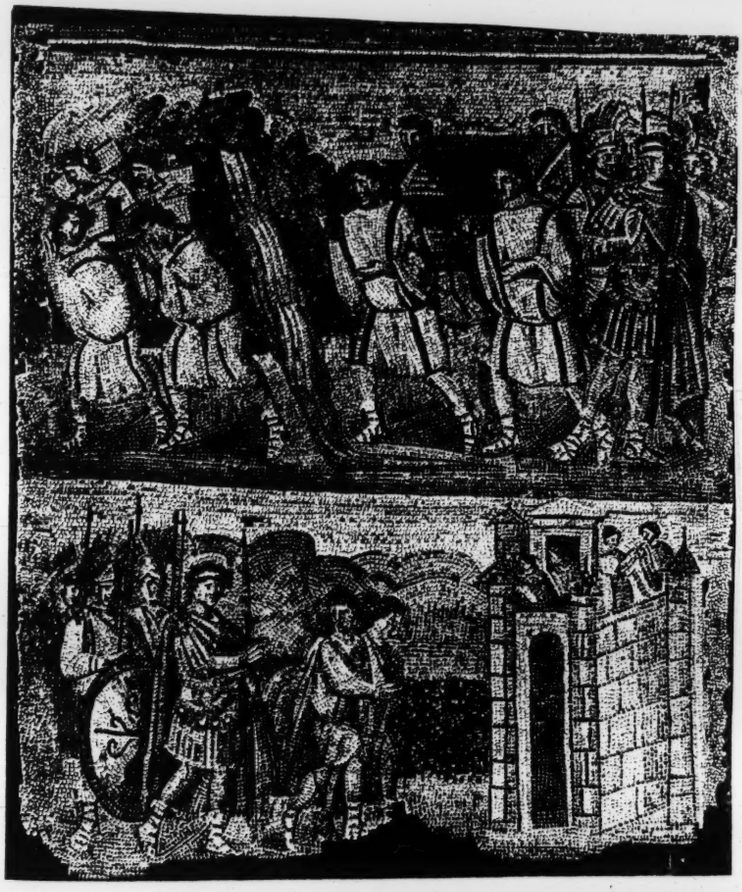
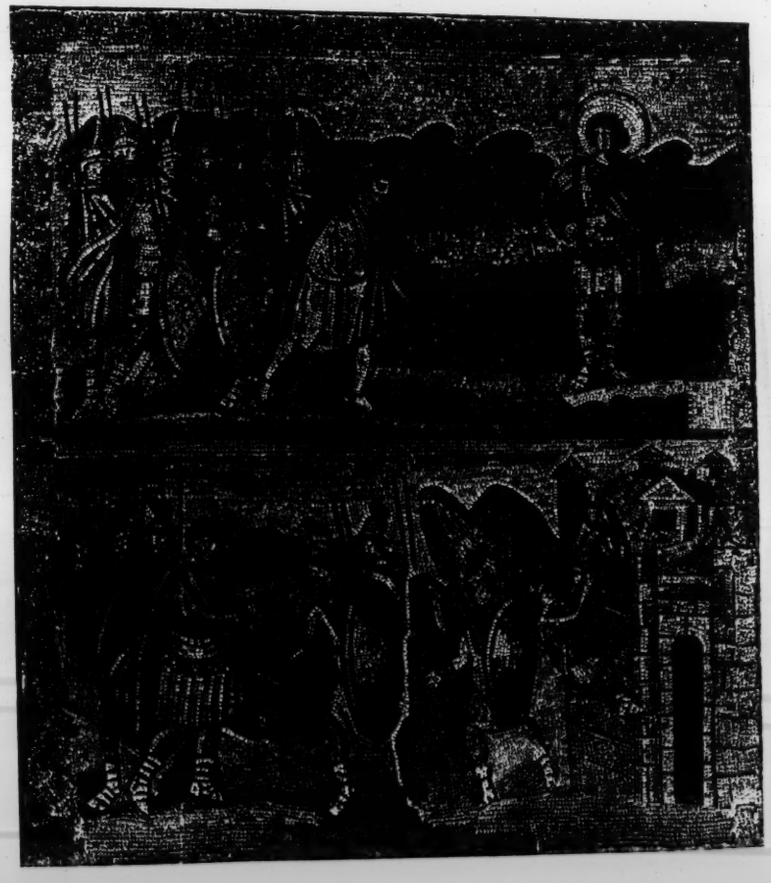


Fig. 25 Crossing the Jordan; Joshua sends spies to Jericho (Right 13)

Fig. 26 The Angel of the Lord appears to Joshua; the spies return (Right 14)



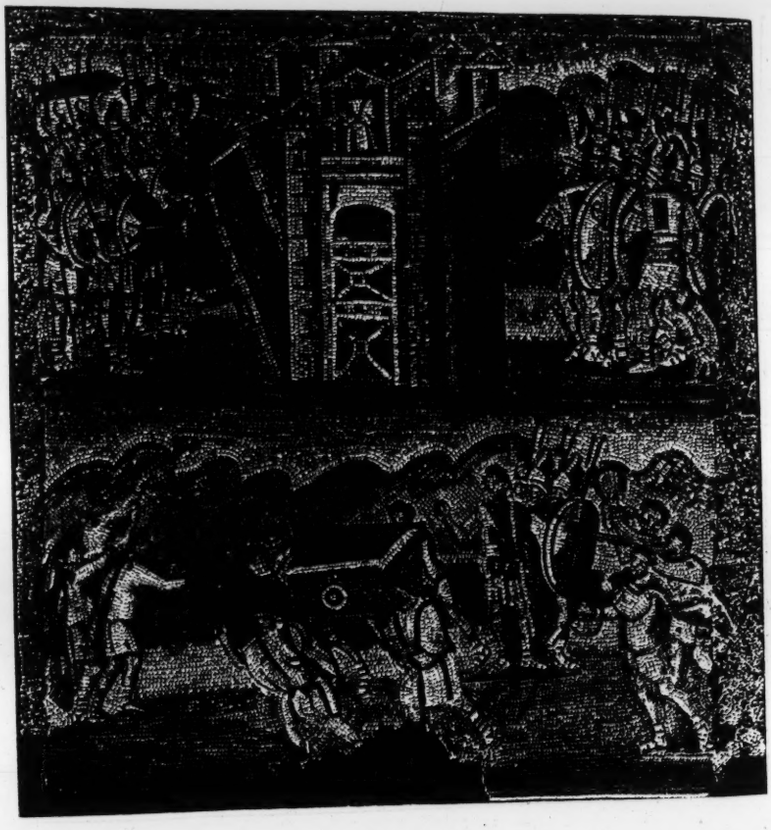


Fig. 27 Manoeuvres at Jericho (Right 15)

Fig. 28 Gibeonites request aid; Joshua speaks to God, Profectio (Right 16)

Fig. 29 Joshua makes the Amorites flee; miraculous rain of hail (Right 17)

Fig. 30 Joshua stills the sun and moon (Right 18)

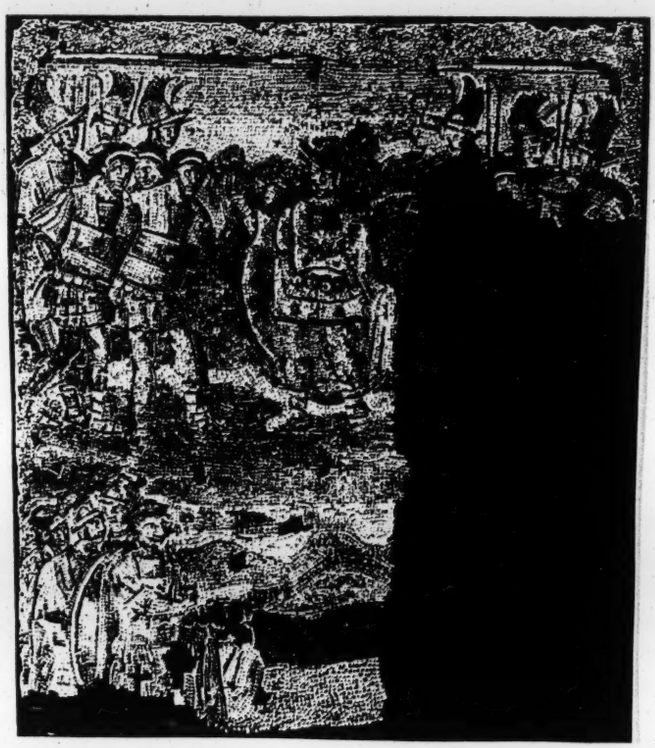


Fig. 31 Five kings are brought before Joshua
(Right 19)

Fig. 32 Sixtine inscription on the triumphal arch

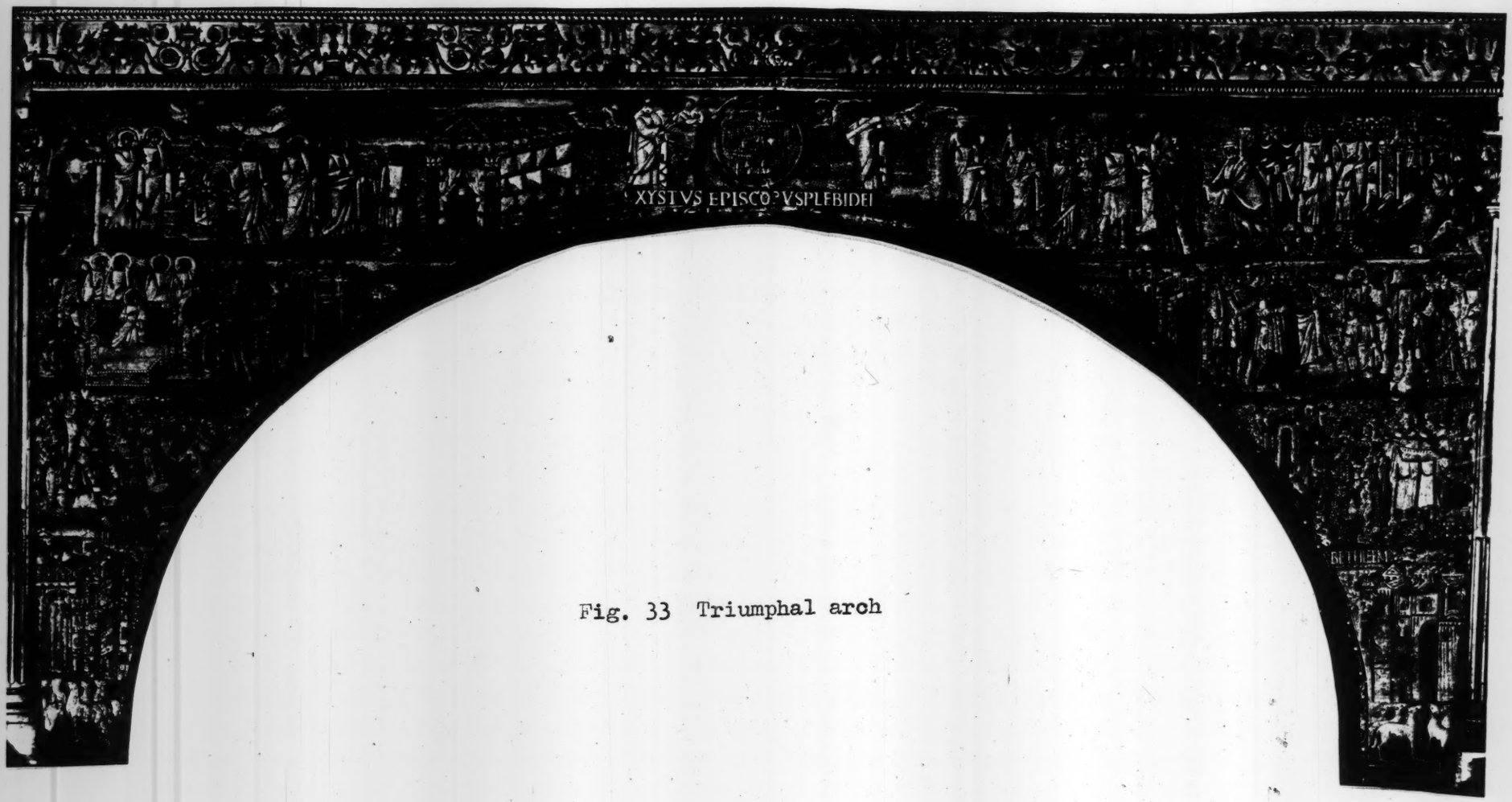


Fig. 33 Triumphal arch

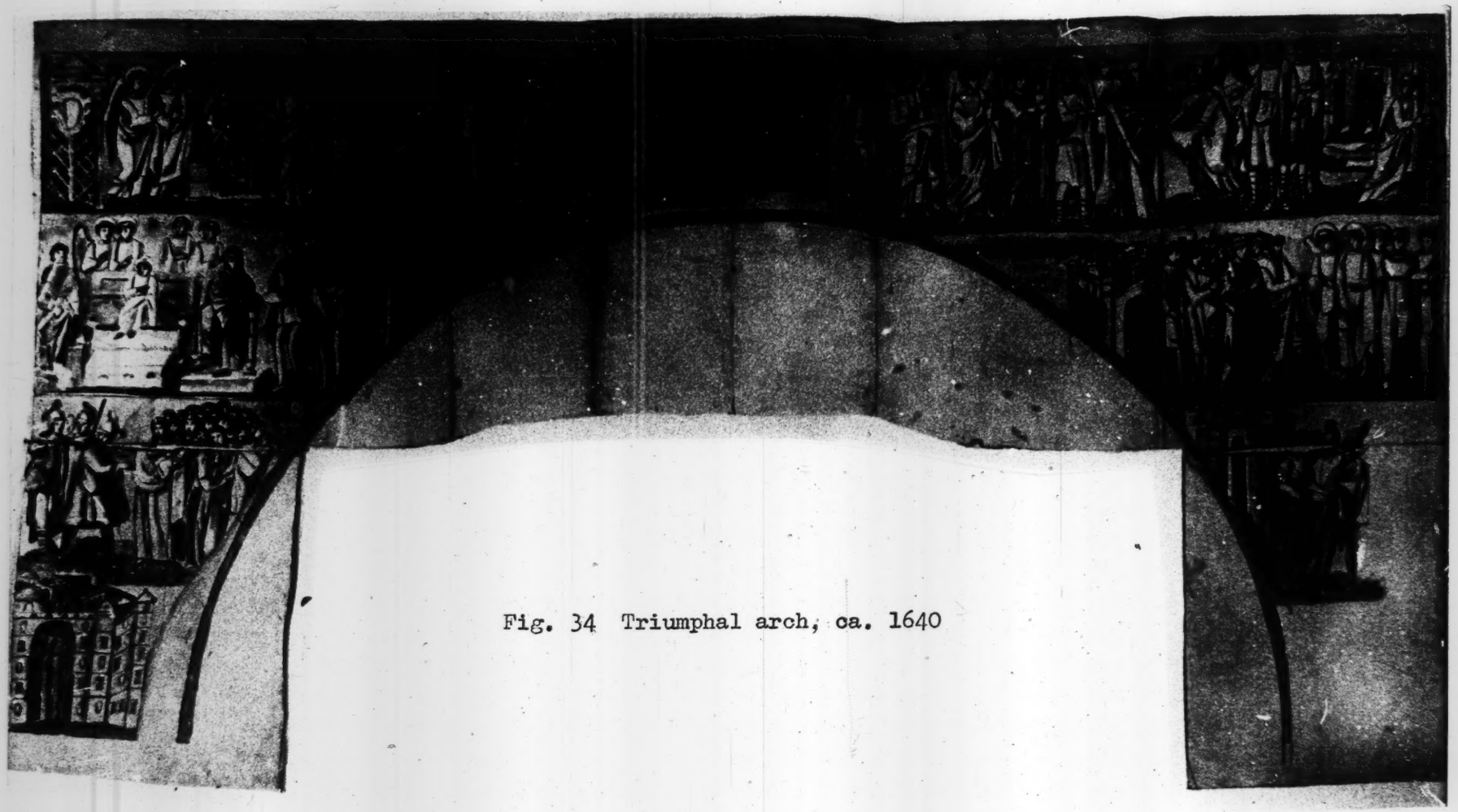


Fig. 34 Triumphal arch, ca. 1640

Fig. 35 Pharoah's daughter (Detail, Right 2)

Fig. 36 Crossing the Red Sea (Detail, Right 7)

Fig. 37 Equestrian Joshua
(Detail, Right 17)

Fig. 38 "Simeon, the Elders and the Templum Urbis"
(Detail, Triumphal arch)

Fig. 39 The Gibeonites (Detail, Right 16)

Fig. 40 Abraham and Lot (Detail, Left 3)

Fig. 41 Israelites at the Red Sea (Detail, Right 7)

Fig. 42 Complaining Israelites
(Detail, Right 8)

Fig. 43 "Simeon"
(Detail, Triumphal
arch)

Fig. 44 Blind Isaac
(Detail, Left 7)

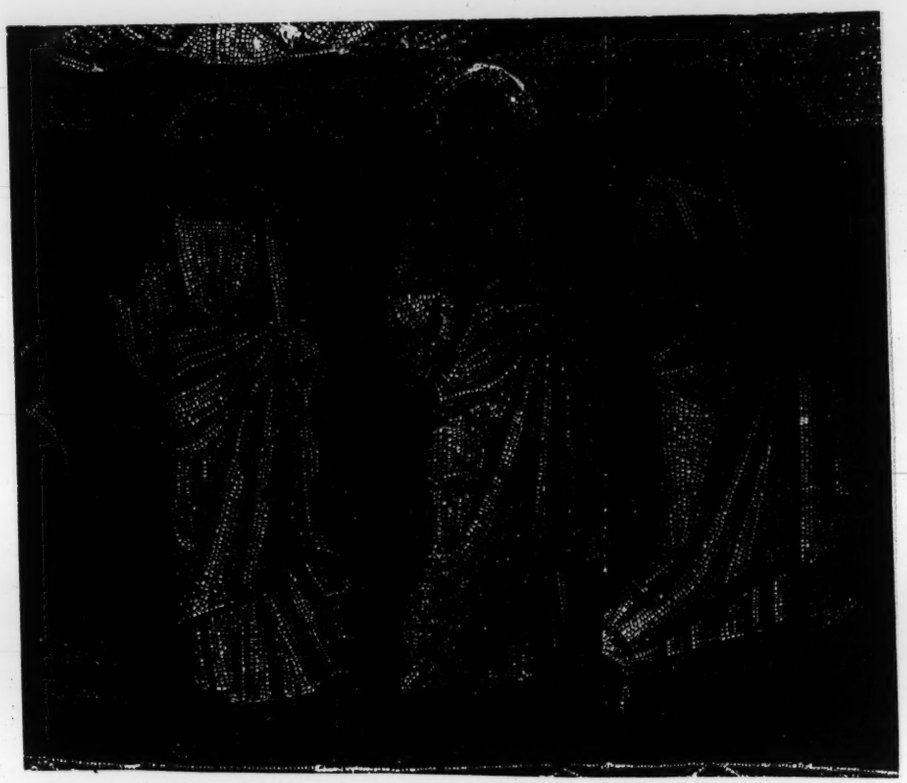


Fig. 45 Angels of the Annunciation
(Detail, Triumphal arch)

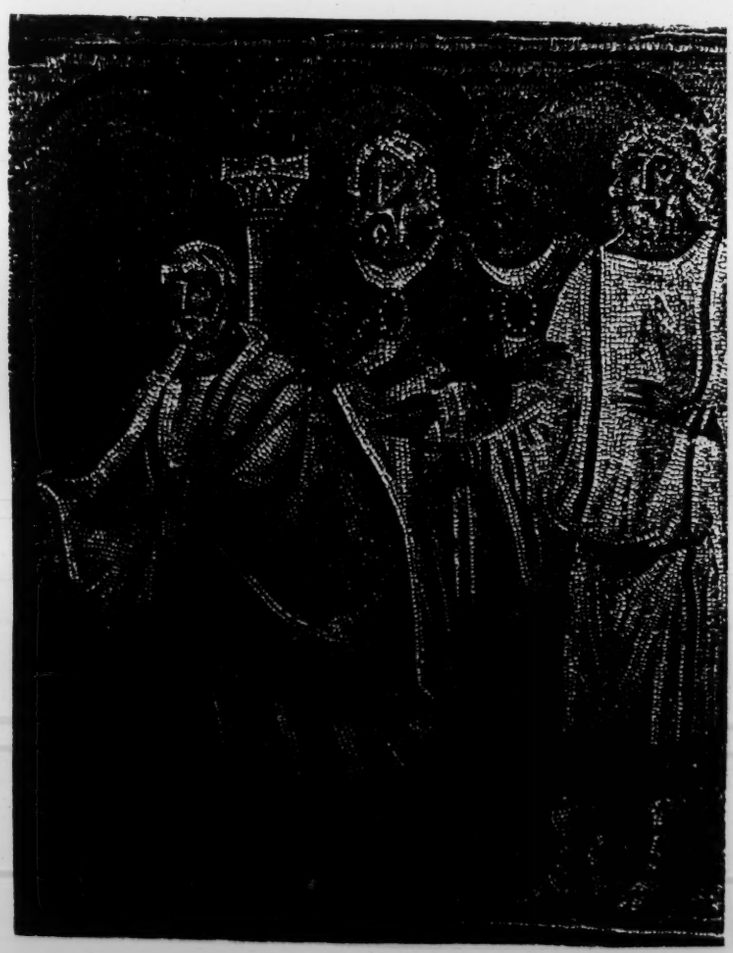
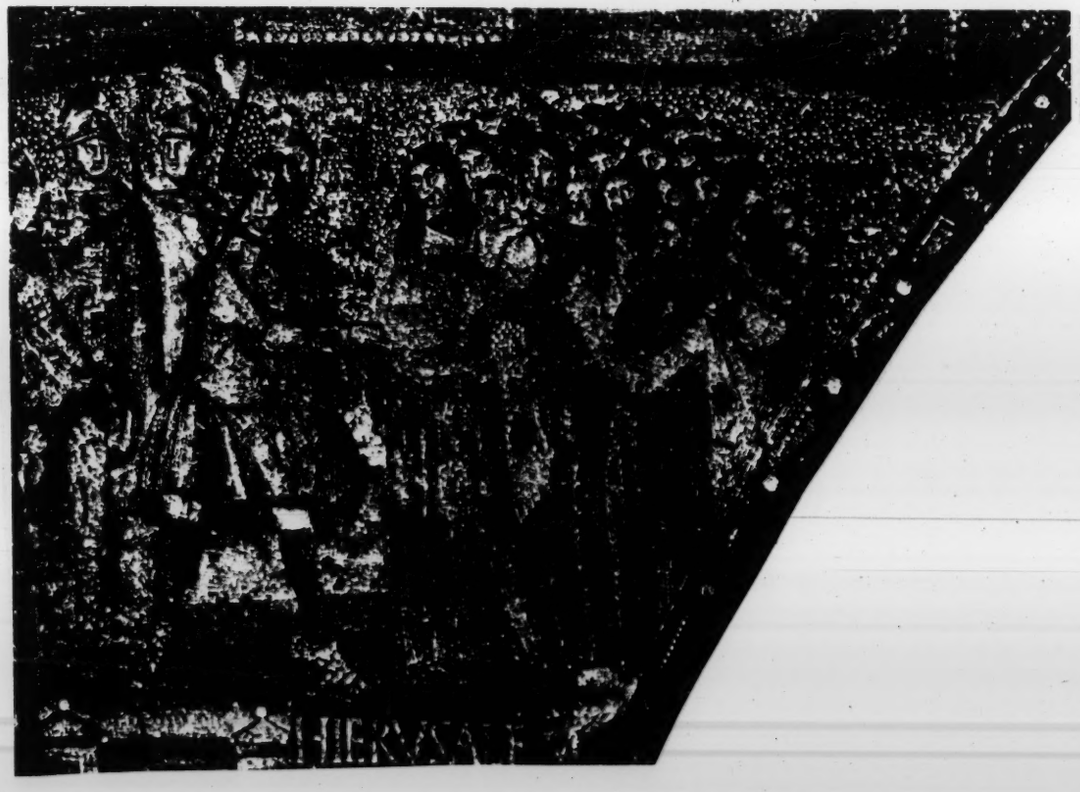


Fig. 46 "Simeon"
(Detail,
Triumphal
arch)

Fig. 47 The Adoration of the Magi
(Detail, Triumphal arch)

Fig. 48 The Massacre of the Innocents
(Detail, Triumphal arch)



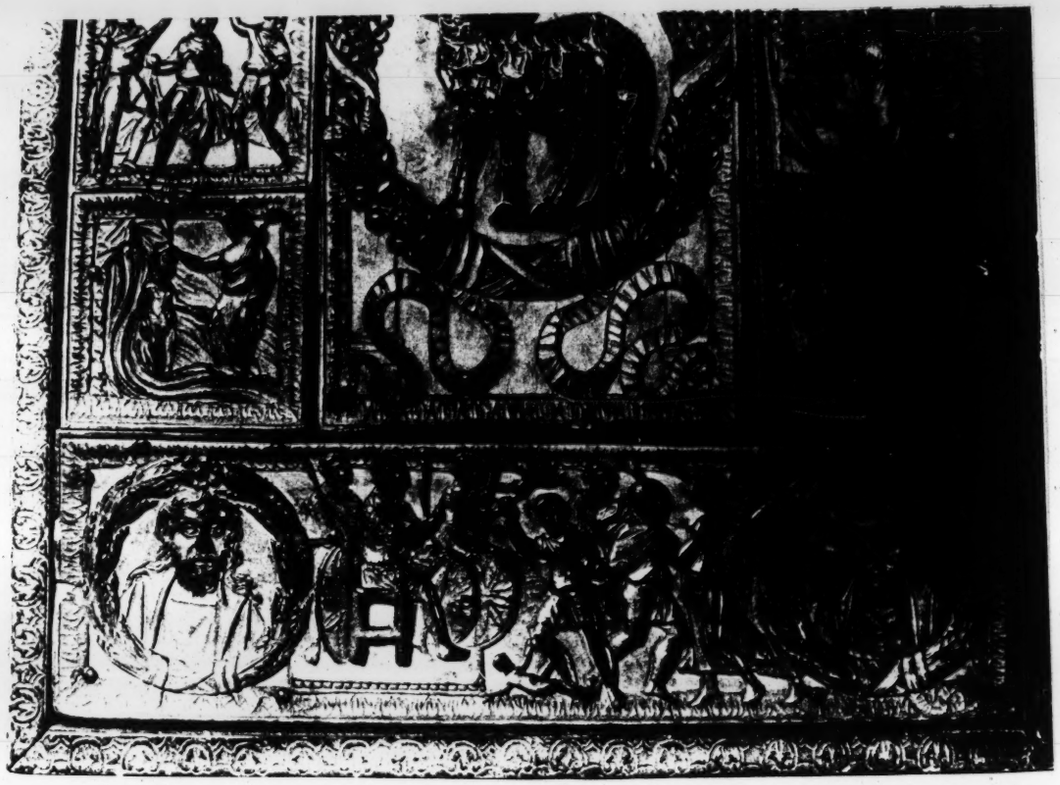


Fig. 49 The Massacre of the Innocents
Detail, ivory diptych, Cathedral
Treasury, Milan

Fig. 50 "Ecclesia"?
"Sybil"?
"Anna"?????
(Detail, Triumphal arch)

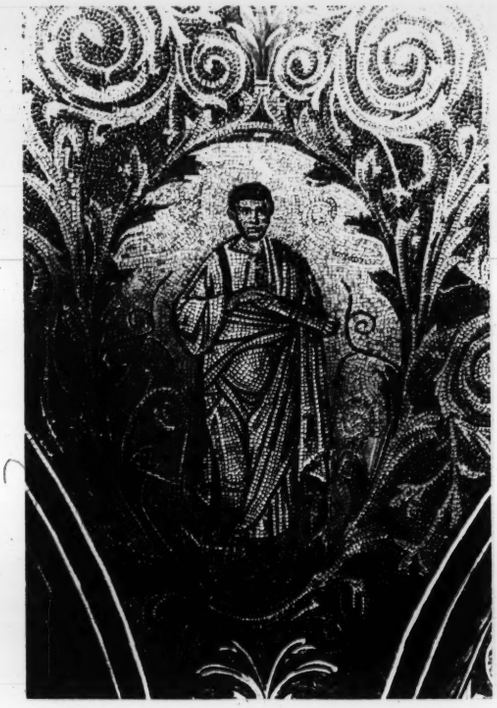


Fig. 51 Prophet
Orthodox Baptistery
Ravenna

Fig. 52 SS. Ambrose and
Maternus, S. Vittore
in Ciel d'Oro, Milan

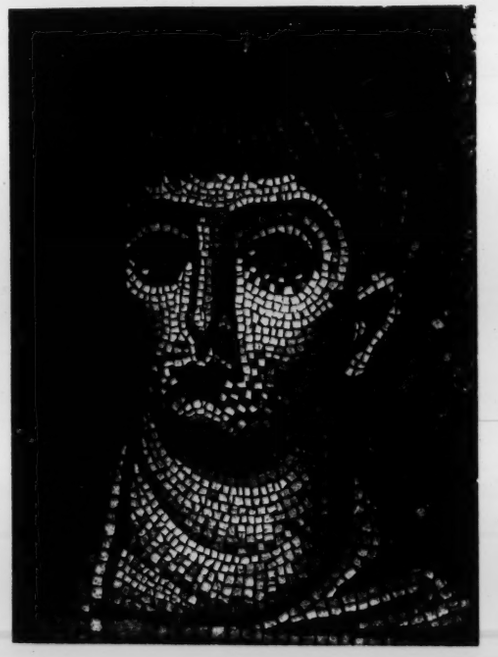


Fig. 53 H. Priskos
H. Giorgios
Thessalonika

Fig. 54 "Templum Urbis" (Detail, Triumphal arch)

Fig. 55 Enthroned Mary with Magi and an angel, ivory plaque, British Museum

Fig. 56 "Joseph" (Detail, Triumphal arch)

Fig. 57 Angel of the Annunciation (Detail, Triumphal arch)

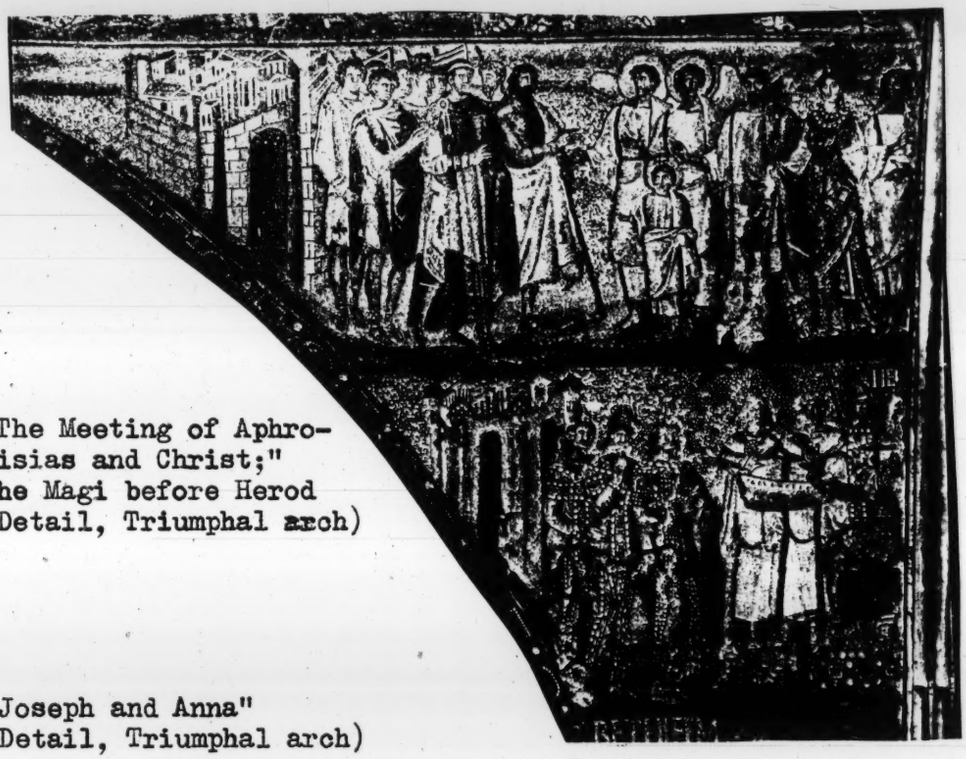


Fig. 58 "The Meeting of Aphrodisias and Christ;" the Magi before Herod (Detail, Triumphal arch)

Fig. 59 "Joseph and Anna" (Detail, Triumphal arch)

Fig. 60 The "Presentation"
(Detail, Triumphal arch)

Fig. 61 Maria Regina, from
the Oratory of John VII,
now in S. Marco,
Florence

Fig. 62 "The Elders, the Templum Urbis," and the Annunciation to Mary (Detail, Triumphal arch, ca. 1640)

Fig. 63 The Annunciation, Basilica Eufrasiana, Parenzo

Fig. 64 The Annunciation, cathedra of Maximianus, Archiepiscopal Museum, Ravenna

Fig. 65 "Aphrodisias" (Detail, Triumphal arch)

Fig. 66 Prophets, Rossano Gospels, Cathedral Treasury, Rossano

Fig. 67 The Marriage of David, silver plate, Archeological Museum, Nicosia, Cyprus